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AMERICAN HISTORY FOR GRAMMAR SCHOOLS



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TORONTO

AMERICAN HISTORY FOR GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

IN THREE PARTS

- I. FROM THE OLD WORLD TO THE NEW
- II. THE BIRTH OF THE NATION
- III. THE NATION'S LIFE AND PROGRESS

BY

MARGUERITE STOCKMAN DICKSON

New York

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1920

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To My Children

Wallace, Katharine, and Helen

PREFACE

THE author of this history would call attention to the following points in regard to it. They may be verified by reference to the text anywhere.

1. An effort has been made to make the style interesting by use of vivid, clear, continuous, and at times dramatic narrative. The aim has been to produce, not catalogued facts, but historical literature.

2. The chapter rather than the paragraph is considered a unit. This prevents the assemblage of unrelated facts, which paragraph headings encourage, and produces a *readable* text. It is deemed important that the pupil shall read each chapter as a whole before proceeding to detailed study of any part of it. In no other way can he avoid learning isolated facts, and these are not history. Marginal headings have been used simply to facilitate review and reference, and have been made as inconspicuous as is consistent with their purpose.

3. The chapters have been so planned that the end of each is a logical stopping place, where what has been read may be worked over, added to, and assimilated. At each of these stopping places, use has been made of the educational devices of enlargement, repetition, analysis, and tabulation, to fix the main facts of the narrative.

4. The grouping of facts has been made a prominent feature. The book is divided into three parts to emphasize the natural division: into (1) discovery and settlement; (2) the formation of the republic; (3) national history. Each of these parts in its turn is subdivided into certain main topics, few in number and logical in succession, so that they can be easily grasped. These main

topics are placed at the beginning of each part for easy reference. More detailed outlines of each topic are given at proper intervals throughout the book.

5. No attempt has been made to include all the facts of United States history. That would be manifestly impossible as well as unwise. The author even pleads guilty to the exclusion of certain incidents and events usually found in grammar school textbooks. It required some courage to do this, but it is believed that by doing so the book has been strengthened. Some events—such as the War with Tripoli, the Burr Conspiracy, the Anti-Masonic party—merely serve to confuse the young student. They do not affect the general issue. It is by the omission of such things as these that space has been obtained for sufficient detail to make clear and vivid the events we have considered.

6. A unique feature of the book is its grading. Most history textbooks assume as much mental capacity on the part of the child when he begins his study as when he is at its end; or, stated inversely, as little capacity when he finishes his work as when he began it. This cannot be true, if the child does any work at all. In recognition of this fact, this book has been planned to take advantage of the child's growth and to aid it. A brief comparison of a chapter in the early part of the book with one near the close will show this plainly. American history lends itself readily to such a plan. Changing as it does from the simple story of primitive life in a new land to the record of to-day's complex civilization, it makes excellent material to produce in the child growth from merely reading a story to thinking and reasoning about historical problems.

7. The purely arbitrary division of the national period according to administrations has been discarded. Especially in the consideration of the period since the Civil War, it has seemed best to treat one problem at a time—the tariff, western development, civil service—rather than to attempt the study of these important things bit by bit in passing from one administration to another. The grammar school boy of to-day will be the voter of to-morrow. We

must give him some definite knowledge of the questions men vote upon. Mere casual references will not do

8. Many references for outside reading are given at the close of the chapters. These are not in most cases to books written for adult history students, but for boys and girls. The purpose of many of them is to stimulate interest quite as much as to add to information. In no case is a pupil referred to a historical volume without definite instructions where to find what he seeks in it.

9. The maps in the book deserve a word of mention. They were selected and nearly all of them sketched especially for this book by Mr. George W. Dickson, District Superintendent of Schools, Newport, New Hampshire, a practical schoolman and teacher of history. Many of them are original in conception, and all are carefully designed to eliminate confusing and unnecessary details, to show forth essentials boldly, and to give the child the necessary help in placing correctly on the continent detailed local maps. This last both Mr. Dickson and the author believe an especially valuable feature.

It would be impossible to name in the brief space here accorded me all those who have been of assistance to me in preparing the book; but I am most appreciative of their kindness. To my husband, whose work on the maps I have already mentioned, and whose suggestions and criticism have modified the book in many ways, I desire to express my thanks.

MARGUERITE STOCKMAN DICKSON.

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PART I

FROM THE OLD WORLD TO THE NEW

"A land waiting for its people, wealth waiting for possessors, an empire waiting for the nation-builders."

PART I

FROM THE OLD WORLD TO THE NEW

I. DISCOVERY

1. The Norsemen
2. Europe and the East — “ How shall we reach the Indies ? ”
3. Columbus
4. Vasco da Gama
5. Early followers of Columbus
Cabot, Vespuccius, Balboa, Magellan

II. EXPLORATION

- | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|
| 1. <i>Spain</i> | 2. <i>France</i> | 3. <i>Holland</i> |
| Cortez | Verrazano | Hudson |
| Pizarro | Cartier | |
| Ponce de Leon | Champlain | |
| De Soto | Marquette | |
| Coronado | Joliet | |
| | La Salle | |

III. COLONIZATION

- | | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. <i>Spain</i> | 2. <i>France</i> | 3. <i>England</i> | 4. <i>Holland</i> |
| Saint Augustine | Canada | Virginia | New York |
| Santa Fé | Louisiana | Plymouth | |
| | | Massachusetts | |
| | | Rhode Island | |
| | | Connecticut | |
| | | Maryland | |
| | | New Jersey | |
| | | Pennsylvania | |
| | | North Carolina | |
| | | South Carolina | |
| | | Georgia | |

PART I

FOREWORD

I

ONCE upon a time, as the storybooks say, a great thing happened in this old world of ours. Perhaps you know already what this great event was, and will tell me that I mean the discovery of America. And if I ask how and when and by whom this discovery was made, perhaps you will be ready to tell me that too.

But you must remember that so great a thing as the discovery of a new world was not accomplished by one man alone, nor was it accomplished in the single day when Columbus first saw land after his long voyage. Sometimes we think of it as if a great curtain had been rolled away from before the eyes of Columbus, disclosing the whole continent of America; so that he had only to go home and tell the king of Spain that the New World was discovered.

This is a very wrong idea. We must look back many years before the time of Columbus to find the beginning of the great work, and we must study on to a time many years after his death before we can say that Europe had really found America. Years of toil, great sums of money, the suffering and death of many brave men, were necessary before the work was done. And even then it took centuries more to find what the new continent was like, to settle it with white people, and to make it useful to the world.

It is not one story, but many, that we must read, if we are to know how it all came about. We must read about old Europe

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and the people there before we can know about America and the new nations that were planted here by European hands.

So let us set out upon our journey, following the white-winged ships on their voyages across the blue waters, from the Old World to the New.

II

THE VIKINGS

"Lords of the waves we are—
Kings of the seething foam—
Warriors bold from the Norseland cold—
Far o'er the sea we roam."

FAR away, in the cold northern countries that we know as Norway and Sweden and Denmark, lived a race of men who called themselves Vikings. They are often called Northmen or Norsemen, but I like best their own name for themselves. Viking means "son of the bay," and the name helps us to know what kind of people they were—bold and hardy, fond of adventure, and full of love for the great blue ocean that crept up into the thousands of bays along their shores. They built many ships, and we hear of their daring voyages in almost every part of Europe.

If we could have followed these Viking sailors, we should have found some of them going to England and to France; some to Ireland and the smaller islands near by; but perhaps more than to any other place they went to build up a Viking colony in Iceland. Their settlements there grew rapidly, and we may read about their farms and hay crops, their sheep and cattle, and, as we should expect, about their ships and their trade with all the countries round about.

A Norse sea king


Would you like to see a Viking ship? It would not look much like one of our ships to-day, nor would it travel so fast as ships

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do now. The bow and the stern rose high out of the water, but the middle was lower and had no deck. Each vessel carried from thirty to sixty oarsmen, who used oars twenty feet long. A single mast and but one sail, both of which could be taken down when not in use, completed what would seem to us a strange ship. But

they were well built, and in them the Northmen used to spend many weeks at a time upon the

Only two years after Iceland was settled, one of these ships was driven westward by a storm, till it reached the land we now call Greenland, and many years later a Viking colony was made there. Then comes a story of a Viking ship which sailed even farther into the unknown west than this. The vessel had started on a voyage from Iceland to Greenland, and the captain had set out, steering by the sun and stars, Viking fashion.

 Viking ship
Both ships and sails were gayly colored.
Notice the dragon's head on the prow.

But a thick fog came, and neither sun nor stars could be seen. Still, on and on sailed the Viking ship, and after a time the welcome land was seen. It was not snow-bound Greenland the ship had reached, however, but a low woody shore of which the captain knew nothing. So he turned back, and it was left for another man to land on the new-found shore. This man was Leif, son of Eric, or Leif Ericsson, as he is often called. In the year 1000 Leif set out to search for the new land. After a short voyage Leif and his thirty-five followers saw the shore, and sailed along beside it for some distance. They called one place they saw Slate-

land, because of its large flat rocks. Another they called Woodland, and another Vinland, because of the wild grapes they found there. In Vinland they spent the winter, and on going home in the spring, told fine stories of the pleasant land they had found.

"Where was Vinland?" you would like to ask, and I should like to tell you, if I could. That it was in America somewhere, probably between Nova Scotia and Long Island Sound, we may be almost sure, but just where we cannot tell. That no lasting settlements were made in Vinland by the Northmen we are sure. Some voyages were made to its shores to obtain wood, but encounters with the natives, of which the old

Meeting of Northmen with natives

Norse stories tell, kept the Vikings from making homes in the land they had found. In time they stopped sailing to Vinland, and came even almost to forget about it. They deserted even the Greenland colonies after a time, and the New World was left once more to its savage owners.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

- 1 The Vikings or Northmen lived in northwestern Europe. They were great sailors.
- 2 The Vikings made colonies in Iceland and Greenland.
- 3 In the year 1000 Leif Ericsson, a Norseman, made a voyage to a place he called Vinland.
- 4 Vinland was probably somewhere on the northeastern coast of North America.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Viking Tales," Hall.
2. Legends of the Northmen, from "Young Folks' Book of American Explorers," Higginson, pp. 1-15.

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3. Harald the Viking, from "Tales of the Enchanted Islands of the Atlantic," Higginson, pp. 168-185.
4. "Studies in American History," Sheldon-Barnes, pp. 6-12.
5. The Saga of the Land of Grapes, from "Wandering Heroes," Price, pp. 151-170.
6. The Northmen in Europe, from "Story of the Middle Ages," Harding, pp. 104-113.

THINGS TO DO

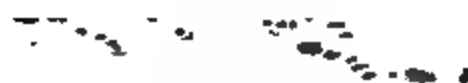
1. Find the exact meaning of *explore*, *settlement*, *colony*.
2. Make a map showing Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, Greenland, Nova Scotia, Long Island Sound.
3. Write an imaginary account of Leif Ericsson's voyage, supposing yourself to be one of his men. The following topics may help you.
My love for the sea — my many voyages — a voyage I once made with Leif many years ago — why we went — what we saw — what we called the land we found — the place — the people — our return.
4. Make spears and shields like those the Northmen used, and play at being Vikings.

III

EUROPE AND THE EAST

We may wonder how it happened that the knowledge of Vinland did not spread to the other countries of Europe, and why no other people made voyages to explore and settle the new land. There were many reasons for this. One was that the Northmen, in spite of their many voyages, had little knowledge of geography, and so had no idea that they had found anything strange or wonderful.

Another reason was that in Europe this was a time of great confusion and many wars. People were not thinking much



Camels on the desert

Caravans sometimes have as many as 1000 camels, which follow each other in single file, covering a mile or more in length. A camel can carry from 300 to 600 pounds, and can travel from 18 to 25 miles a day.

about exploring new countries. And still another was that Europeans did not care much what lay to the west of them. What little attention they had to spare from their troubles was

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turned toward the East; toward India, the land of spices and diamonds and pearls; toward Cathay, the land of silk; toward that mysterious island which they called Cipango, which, though none of them had been there to see, was believed to be the richest of them all.

There had been for many hundreds of years some trade with the East. Caravans from Asia brought goods to the shores of the Red Sea, the Caspian, and the Persian Gulf. There they were met by European traders, who brought the goods, partly by land and partly by sea, to Europe. Constantinople had become a great commercial city, the center of much of this eastern trade.

Trade routes Her ships sailed up through the Strait of Bosphorus and the Black Sea to meet the caravans which had come across the mountains and the deserts lying between the people of Europe and those of the great East.

In the eleventh century Europe was threatened by a great danger, which made people think more than ever of the countries

to the east of them. The Turks, a fierce and warlike people, began to come in vast companies from their homes in central Asia, and soon took possession of the whole eastern end of the Mediterranean. The Holy Land, to which Christian pilgrims journeyed to worship, was no longer safe because of these intruders. Christians everywhere throughout Europe became

The Crusades alarmed. Armies were formed, and the Crusades, or "Wars

of the Cross" were begun, to drive back the Turks from the Holy Land, and to keep them from capturing Europe itself. One crusade followed another for nearly two centuries; but the Christians never really succeeded in driving the Turks away.

A Crusader

Trade Routes to the East

The dark part of the map shows parts of the eastern hemisphere unknown at this time. The whole western hemisphere was undiscovered.

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One of the great results of the Crusades was to interest people even more in the East, and to increase the commerce with India. Venice and Genoa became great trade centers, and the Mediterranean was filled with richly laden ships. Great fortunes were made. Wealth and learning spread throughout Europe. There grew up much curiosity about the Indies and Cathay. The men who came with the caravans often told the traders strange stories

Marco Polo about their countries in the East. Marco Polo, a Venetian, who had really been in these far-away countries, came home and told wonderful tales of the richness and

splendor of what he saw. He told of beautiful rivers with hundreds of great cities on their banks, of the rich products of the countries, and of a great ocean away to the east of Cathay, in which lay the lovely island of Cipango.

During all these years, while the stories about Asia were arousing more and more interest, the Turks had been gathering strength once more, and now, after hard

Capture of Constantinople fighting, they had captured Constantinople. This was a

Marco Polo

great blow to European commerce. Just as people were beginning to find out something about the East, the way was closed. They could no longer meet the caravans from India on the shore of the Black Sea; they did not even dare to go by way of the Red Sea, for fear of the Turkish vessels always on the watch for them.

What should they do? Must they do without gold and pearls and diamonds, without spices and ivory and silks? Some of the learned men began to wonder if there was no other way to India.

Some one remembered about the great ocean Marco Polo had told them of. What ocean was it? How could they get to it? Or could they, perhaps, sail around Africa, and so through the Indian Ocean to India?

This was not entirely a new idea. The western coast of Africa had been explored for a short distance, before this time. Prince Henry of Portugal, afterward known as Henry the Navigator, had sent many ships down the coast to search for gold and to see if an ocean route to India could not be found. **Henry the Navigator** Now he tried harder than ever. The story of the **Navigator** voyages would be a long one. It was slow work; but year by year the ships crept a little farther south. The sailors were easily frightened and often wished to turn back. Many of the captains themselves believed that in the Torrid Zone the ocean was of boiling water, and the air was filled with flame.

But still they went on, encouraged by Prince Henry, who was a great man, and one that we should honor for his zeal and steadiness of purpose. When he died, in 1463, the Gold Coast had been reached, and we find ourselves wishing that he could have lived to see

Henry the Navigator

the good work go on. Each year the ships sailed farther south. In 1471 the Equator was crossed, and in 1486 the Cape of Good

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Hope was discovered. The Portuguese seemed likely to be the ones who would answer the question, "How shall we reach the Indies?"

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. At the time when the Northmen found Vinland, most people in Europe were interested in the East, with which there was much trade.
2. After the Turks captured the Holy Land, the Crusades were undertaken to recover it.
3. In 1453 the Turks took Constantinople; commerce with the East was stopped. It became necessary to find a new route to India.
4. Henry the Navigator sent ships down the coast of Africa. These ships passed the Equator in 1471 and the Cape of Good Hope in 1486.

THINGS TO READ

1. "The Adventures of Marco Polo," Atherton.
2. "Story of Marco Polo," Brooks.
3. "Marco Polo," Towle.
4. "Studies in American History," Sheldon-Barnes, pp. 12-16.
5. The Crusades in "The Story of the Middle Ages," Harding, pp. 114-136.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the exact meaning of *caravan*, *commercial*, *Christian*.
2. Find out what years mark the beginning and the end of the eleventh century.
3. Find out what you can about the Turks.
4. Map study: Look up the location of the Red Sea, the Caspian Sea, the Persian Gulf, Constantinople, the Bosphorus, the Black Sea, the Mediterranean Sea, the Holy Land, Venice, Genoa, Portugal, the Gold Coast.
5. Make a map showing the routes of trade with India before Constantinople was taken.
6. Write about Marco Polo, telling about: where he traveled; his book; some of the wonderful things he described; what people thought of his stories.

IV

COLUMBUS AND HIS WORK

"He gained a world; he gave that world
Its grandest lesson: On! sail on!"

— MILLER.

Just when the idea that the earth is round came into men's minds we cannot tell, but we know that it had been believed by learned men for many years before the times of which we have been reading, though the common people probably had no idea of such a thing. There had been men, too, who had thought that if the earth is round, Cathay might be reached by sailing west. After 1471, when the Portuguese ships succeeded in sailing beyond the Equator, and it began to be seen that the voyage around the coast of Africa would be a long one, more men took up these ideas of a western route.

Portugal was the great gathering place for those who were interested in these questions, and there we find a man who grew to be very sure that sailing west was the best way to reach Asia. This man was Christopher Columbus.

Columbus

There is no really authentic portrait of Columbus, though several, of which this is one, are usually accepted as likenesses. The original of this picture is a painting in the Marine Museum, Madrid.

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He was a native of Genoa, and had come from that place to Lisbon, where we hear of him making his living sometimes by voyages on the sea, and sometimes by making maps for other sailors. We do not know much about his early life. He was fairly well educated, and had a great love of geography, probably because he had spent much of his life on the ocean.

He was the first of those who believed in the western route to think of really trying it himself. It took a good deal of courage to be willing to attempt such a voyage. There were many diffi-

Toscanello's Map; drawn from his Description

culties to be overcome. The ships of that time were small and easily wrecked. The fear of the unknown ocean, which was called the "Sea of Darkness," was great. No one knew, of course, how far this ocean extended, but the geographers had reckoned, as nearly as they could, the size of the earth, and some of their estimates were not far from right.

Columbus thought the earth smaller than it really is. He believed that by sailing west only twenty-five hundred miles, he would come to Japan. The actual distance from Portugal to Japan is more than twelve thousand miles. Perhaps if Columbus

The word is known at the time of Columbus's first voyage

had known how large the earth is, he would not have been so eager to start on his voyage.

The king of Portugal was anxious to know of a shorter route to India, so Columbus applied to him for assistance in getting money and ships. The king became interested, and might have helped him, if Columbus had not asked for such great rewards in return for what he might discover. These the king refused, but he determined secretly to try the route, and so find out whether Columbus was right or not. He sent out a ship with copies of Columbus's maps and charts, but he gained nothing by his deception. The sailors were frightened by the great ocean, and soon came back, saying, "You might as well expect to find land in the sky as in that waste of waters."

When Columbus heard of the trick the king had played upon him, he at once left Portugal. This was in 1484. He determined to apply to the king and queen of Spain, and we soon hear of him traveling with his little son on his way to the Spanish court. It was a long time before he could get the king and queen, who were busy with a great war, to pay much attention to him. The years slipped by. While he was still waiting and hoping, the news came in 1487 that a Portuguese ship had sailed around the Cape of Good Hope and into the Indian Ocean. Can't you imagine how impatient Columbus must have been to show people that his way was a better one than this?

It was more than four years later, however, that his time came. In 1492 the war that had kept the king and queen busy came Columbus's to an end, and Queen Isabella became interested in first voyage Columbus and his plans. He came very near losing this chance, as he had lost the one in Portugal, by wanting too much in return for his work. But at last the matter was arranged, and preparations for the voyage were begun.

It was hard work to find sailors who were willing to go upon the ships the queen provided. The queen forced some to go whether they wished to or not. She even released criminals from

Columbus at the Court of Queen Isabella
From the painting by Vaslav Bronik. in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

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prison to help make up the crew. At last all was ready, and Columbus set sail from the little town of Palos, on the morning of August 3, 1492, with ninety sailors on board the three ships that formed the fleet.

Of these three ships the *Santa Maria* was the largest, and was the flagship. The *Pinta* and the *Niña* were smaller, and had no decks. They were not much, if any, larger than many of our

The Fleet of Columbus

pleasure boats of to-day, but Columbus was glad to have any ships at all, so I do not believe that he found any fault with his fleet.

It was a strange voyage. After leaving the Canary Islands, September 6, they were soon out of sight of land. Then it was that loneliness and terror of the great waste of rolling waters took possession of the poor sailors. Nothing but sea and sky — the sea glittering in the sunlight by day, or rolling black and awful by night; the sky filled with far-away stars, or glaring with the hot rays of the pitiless sun.

Columbus did not dare to tell the sailors how far away they were from home, so each day he gave the number of miles they had sailed as less than it really was. Anxiously, as the days went on, did the admiral look for signs of land. Sometimes he saw weeds floating in the water, sometimes birds flying overhead, sometimes a crab, once a whale; always something to keep up his courage, and something to tell the sailors as a sign that land was near.

Twice they were disappointed, finding what they had believed to be land to be only banks of clouds. They had been on the great ocean a month. But there were always new signs, — floating logs, a branch with berries on it, a stick carved by human hands. Late one night Columbus thought he saw a moving light. Every eye was strained, gazing out into the darkness, every sailor intent upon securing the reward offered to him who should first see land.

The signal agreed upon was the firing of a cannon on the ship where the sharp-eyed sailor should prove to be. It was two o'clock. The moon was near its setting. The *Pinta* was ahead. Boom! sounded her great gun. How the hearts must have beat when the sound was heard. Land at last! To the homesick sailors it meant that the weary voyage was over, that they would soon be on their homeward way. To Columbus it meant success; it meant wealth, power, and fame!

With hearts filled with happy thoughts, they furled the sails of each little vessel, and lay down to wait the coming of the dawn, and their first sight of the long-sought land.

Early in the morning — it was the morning of October 12 — preparations were made for going ashore. Columbus, with a small company of officers and seamen, carrying the royal banner of Spain, set off in a little boat to take possession of the land for the queen. What land was it? Columbus could hardly tell so soon. It seemed to be a beautiful little island, with green trees

and wonderful fruits, with silvery streams, and away in the distance a little lake. There were no towns nor great buildings to be seen. A few strange-looking men had been seen among the trees. It must be some island to the north of Cipango, thought

Landing of Columbus

From Vanderlip's painting in the Capitol at Washington.

Columbus. He named it San Salvador. We know now that it was one of the Bahamas, probably Watling's Island.

Reaching the shore, the company fell upon their knees, thanked God for their success, and, holding high the royal banner, proclaimed this land a part of the dominion of Queen Isabella. A crowd of natives had gathered near, watching the strange movements of the newcomers, and the Spaniards soon made friends with them. They gave the red men beads and bits of colored cloth, and tried to talk with them about the country. Believing that he had found the long-sought Indies, Columbus called the natives Indians. This was not, to be sure, much like the land of riches and splendor he had

expected to find, but surely Cipango was not far away, and there he would see the great cities, and find the pearls and the gold.

For three months he sailed about among the islands, which we know now to have been the Bahamas. He touched upon the shore of Cuba; he explored Hayti, and named it Hispaniola. But he found no spices, no gold, and no place that seemed to be quite like Cipango.

At last the *Santa Maria* struck a sand bar, and could not be saved. Columbus saw that it would be best to start for home. He built a fort at Hispaniola, and left there forty men with provisions for a year; then, with the rest of the men, he set sail for Spain.

It was a great day for Columbus when he stood before the king and queen, telling them of the strange sights he had seen, and showing the wonderful things he had brought home, — curious plants, brilliantly colored birds, and even several of the cinnamon-colored men.

Preparations were at once begun for a second voyage. Columbus was happier then than ever afterward, I fear.

The second voyage took place in 1493. A fleet of seventeen vessels, with fifteen hundred

Departure of Columbus on his second voyage

men, set out from Cadiz to found a colony and to continue the work of exploration. The record of this voyage is much like that of the first; they found many islands, but could not discover to what country they belonged, nor could they find very much gold.

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The success of Columbus made the Portuguese try harder than ever to reach India by sailing down the coast of Africa. In 1497 Vasco da Gama's voyage a fleet commanded by Vasco da Gama set out on the voyage that was to answer the old question, "How are we to reach the Indies?" In 1499 the Portuguese joyfully announced to the world that Da Gama had succeeded in getting to India, and had returned with ory, spices, and rich silks. Da ero in the eyes of Europe, and Columbus's enterprise looked than ever.

In the meantime Columbus was sailing westward a third time. This time Columbus's third and fourth voyages he reached the mainland of South America. On his way home he stopped at the Hispaniola colony. There plots were formed against him, and he was seized and sent to Spain in chains. This was the greatest sorrow of his life. He

By Successive Steps the Portuguese reached India

was released as soon as the queen heard of it, but he could never quite forget his disgrace, and it is said that he kept the chains as long as he lived. The old admiral made but one voyage more. For the last time he turned the prow of his ship to the west. This voyage, like the second and the third, ended in disaster. Columbus was shipwrecked, and it was a year before ships came to take him home to Spain.

Of what use, thought the people, had his discoveries been? What had he found that was worth finding? Beautiful islands, strange birds, curious plants, and copper-colored men — but what use were all these?

Early Voyages
Columbus, Cabot, Vesputius.

The Portuguese had reached India, and were already growing rich from their trade with the countries of the East. Why had not Columbus found the Indies, or Cipango, or Cathay? He was only an idle dreamer, after all, they thought, and had spent the queen's money and his own time for nothing.

And what could Columbus say in answer to all this? Nothing, for he did not know how great was the work he had done. It must have seemed, even to him, much like failure.

Poor, old, discouraged, forsaken, he lived only for two years more, then died, and was for a time forgotten. It was only in after years, when the great truth became known that not Asia, but a new continent, lay to the west beyond the "Sea of Darkness," that he was honored as one of the world's great men, and it was said of him that he "gave to Castile and Leon a new world."

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. Many people became interested in the search for a new route to India; some men believed the earth to be round, and that Asia could be reached by sailing west.

2. Christopher Columbus was one of the men who thought this. Unlike the others, he wished to try it for himself.

3. He needed help in getting money and men. No one would help him, until at last Queen Isabella of Spain gave him three ships manned by ninety men.

4. He set out on his voyage August 3, 1492; on October 12, his ships reached land.

5. Columbus took possession of the new land for Spain. He could not tell what land it was, but he believed it to be part of Asia. He went home proud and happy, and was received with great honor by the king and queen. But his other voyages accomplished little, and he died poor and forsaken.

6. Columbus never knew that he had found, not Asia, but a New World

THINGS TO READ

1. "Columbus and Magellan," Lawler, pp. 1-93.

2. "Pioneers on Land and Sea," McMurry, pp. 122-160.

3. "The Storied West Indies," Ober, pp. 1-6.
4. "Indians and Pioneers," Hazard and Dutton, Chapter VI.
5. "Young Folks' Book of American Explorers," Higginson, pp. 18-52.
6. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 7-26.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the exact meaning of *proclaimed*, *dominion*, *exploration*.
2. Think of words which you might use to describe Columbus. Show some reason why you think the words you select really fit the man.
3. In the song, "The Red, White, and Blue," we find the words

"Columbia, the gem of the ocean,
The home of the brave and the free."

To what land does the song refer? Is Columbia its real name? Find, if you can, the names of places which have been named for Columbus. What was the World's Columbian Exposition? When and where did it take place? What did it commemorate?

4. Study the pictures on pages 24, 26, 33, 34, 36. Write a paragraph describing the scene shown in one of them; show, if you can, the feelings by which the people were stirred.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

[Copy quotation from head of chapter.]

1. Columbus was born in _____. He became a _____. He was much interested in _____. He came to believe that the earth _____. He believed that sailing _____ would bring one to India. He sailed from _____ in the year _____. After sailing for _____ he reached land. He believed he had found _____. He had really found a _____.

2. Obtain and mount in your notebook as many as you can of the following pictures: Columbus at the Court of Queen Isabella, The Fleet of Columbus, Columbus on the Deck of the *Santa Maria*, The Landing of Columbus.

3. Show on a map of the world the voyages of Columbus.

V

FOLLOWING WHERE COLUMBUS LED

It was not long after the story of Columbus's discovery was told, before others dared to follow where he led. John Cabot, another native of Genoa, sailed westward, under the flag of England, in 1497. He reached what we now call North America, and sailed for some distance along its northeastern coast. Cabot's voyage is important since, because of it, the English later laid claim to the coast he explored.

Still another Italian, Amerigo Vespucci, or Americus Vesputius, as his name is sometimes written, helped along the great work.

He was much interested in geography, and was a friend of Columbus. He made several voyages across the Atlantic, on one of which he explored much of the coast of South America. This the geographers placed upon their maps as a "New World."

Vesputius
From a painting in possession of
the Massachusetts Historical
Society.

The lands Columbus had found were still supposed to be parts of Asia. Letters were written, and, later, a little book, describing what Americus Vesputius had seen. Some one suggested that the "New World" he had described be called "America," and slowly the name came into use as a name for what we now call South America. Then when it became known at last that the lands Columbus

The First Voyage around the World
Compare with map on page 28.

had discovered were not parts of Asia, but more "New Worlds," somehow the name America began to be applied to them also. And so the New World received its name.

Are you wondering how it became known that the lands Columbus had found west of the Atlantic were not parts of Asia? Let me tell you. In 1513 a man named Balboa had sailed to the Isthmus of Panama, and after journeying across it, had found to his astonishment that there was another waste of water as

far as he could see. Reports of this were heard by Ferdinand Magellan, a Portu-

Magellan guese nobleman, who had spent much of his life upon the sea. He had been around Africa to India, and farther east still to the Spice Islands. He began to wonder if he could not sail around the "New World" of Vesputius, and so into the waters Balboa had seen. If this could be done, Asia might be reached, after all, by the western route. He might then, he thought, come home around the Cape of Good Hope.

Magellan

This, if he could do it, would make a voyage around the world.

Magellan's plan was carried out, though not without terrible suffering and the loss of the brave Magellan himself. He set out

The voyage of Magellan's ships in 1519, sailing down around the southern point of South America, by rocky coasts and through icy seas; he found the strait that bears his name, and sailed on into the Pacific. More than three months he sailed on this great ocean before he reached the Philippine Islands.

It was on one of these islands that Magellan was killed. Many of his crew had died from sickness and suffering, and many more had been killed by the cruel natives. Those who were left finally reached Spain in 1521. This was the greatest voyage of them all. It was Magellan who proved that the earth is round; who

first crossed the greatest of the oceans; who found Asia by sailing west; who, best of all, showed Europe that America is not a part of Asia, but a continent by itself.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. John Cabot sailed from England in 1497. He sailed directly west, and so found North America.

2. Americus Vesputius explored the coast of South America and sailed far down into the Antarctic Ocean.

3. After many years the New World came to be called America in honor of Americus Vesputius.

4. Magellan discovered the Strait of Magellan, and one of his ships sailed around the world.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Columbus and Magellan," Lawler, pp. 94-144.

2. "Pioneers on Land and Sea," McMurry, pp. 161-185.

3. "Pioneer Spaniards in North America," Johnson, pp. 23-45.

THINGS TO DO

1. Trace the voyage of Magellan on a globe, and then on a world map.

2. Discuss in class, with your teacher, the following question: —

Is it an injustice to the memory of Columbus to allow the name America to continue in use? Would you prefer to have our country called Columbia?

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Write about "The Naming of the New World."

(Tell who Americus was — his voyages — how the name America first came into use — your opinion in regard to the name.)

2. Show on a map the voyages of Cabot, Vesputius, and Magellan.

3. The First Voyage around the World.

Made by — in —.

The ships sailed —, by the coast of —, through the —, into the —, finally reaching the —. From there the ships again sailed —, around the — — — —, and completed the voyage around the world. This voyage was important because it proved — — — —.

VI

AMERICA AND ITS INHABITANTS

BEFORE we go on to find out what use Europe made of this new land she had found, let us see what kind of land it was, and what the people who lived in it were like. To get an idea of America when it was first seen by Europeans, you must forget, or put out of your mind, many of the things you know about it as it is now. No cities, no railroads, no ships in the silent harbors, no great bridges, no roads, no horses or cows, not even a dog to bark at you or a cat to purr about your feet, would you have seen, had you come to this land of ours when those early voyagers came.

Great forests, silent rivers, glistening beaches, lonely, rocky shores, would have met you everywhere. Perhaps you might have seen strange, dusky forms gliding among the trees, or a bark canoe shooting from behind some bend in the swiftly flowing stream. Perhaps these silent people would have gathered to look at you — the strange pale faces — as they gathered to look at Columbus and his men. Perhaps you might even have seen their curious dwellings. Perhaps some dark night you might have heard strange noises, and, creeping through the sheltering woods, might have looked upon the painted warriors circling about the camp fire, shouting and screaming, until you stole away again, and, while the hoarse voices still rang in your ears, wished yourself back in old Europe, where such things could be neither seen nor heard.

The Indian is a strange being. He paints his body, decks his head with feathers, and struts about as proud as any peacock.

He is like a child in his delight over a handful of colored beads or a strip of red cloth.

At home he lies stretched upon the ground, smoking lazily, while his wife plants the corn, grinds the meal, makes the fires, cooks the food — in fact, does all the work that is done. His work is in the hunting ground or on the warpath — the work of the village is women's work.

In the forest he follows a trail that to you seems invisible; he hunts, with an eye so keen and a hand so skilled that seldom does an arrow miss its mark; he writes on the bark of a tree a message for his friend, in a strange language of picture and sign; or he waits in the shadow of the tree trunks for his enemy, with a patience that knows no bounds.

At the council fire he sits silent, smoking his long pipe, listening to the words of his chief, or himself speaking words of solemn counsel. In war, hideous with paint and feathers, he steals



Indian Moccasins

Indian Picture Writing

through the shadows of the forest to strike down his foe, burning, killing, torturing, scalping. He knows how to hide himself away among the trees, so that, though the woods seem as empty as they are quiet and lonely, the traveler may enter them only to find an Indian behind every tree, and his deadly arrows twanging by on every side. If the Indian is taken prisoner, he calmly accepts his fate, proud that no one can see any fear or any sorrow in his face.

Just when these people began to live in America and where

they came from, you must not ask, for I cannot tell you; but they had probably been here many thousands of years when the white men came. Strange heaps or mounds of earth have been found in various parts of the country, which were evidently built by some very ancient people. These mounds and their contents have been very carefully studied. It was at one time believed that they were the work of a race of people much older than the Indians and quite different from them. Scholars now, however, generally believe the "mound builders" to have been merely the forefathers of the tribes of Indians who were found in the neighborhoods near the mounds when the white men came.

Indian Wigwam

Learned men have tried hard to discover where the ancient home of the Indians may have been. Some of these men think that perhaps they came from Asia, and they ask us to notice how shallow Bering Sea is; adding, that if, as it seems, this was once land instead of water, the people of that ancient time might easily have crossed to America. Others think that perhaps they came from Europe, and they tell us strange stories about a great ridge in the Atlantic Ocean, which was probably once above the level of the sea, and connected Europe and America.

However the red men may have come, here the white men found them. There were many tribes, differing in language, in customs, in dress. Some lived in wigwams or tents of skins, and some in strange clay dwellings high on a rocky cliff.

It would seem as though the fierce warlike Indians of the northern part of America could not belong to the same race as the Pueblo people or the Aztecs of Mexico. These people raised crops of corn, beans, and squashes. They knew how to spin and weave, using cotton and other plant fibers. The Aztecs built houses of stone, covered with plaster, which was often brilliantly

colored. The Spaniards told wonderful stories of the riches and splendor of the Aztec cities, and they looked upon the people as scarcely less civilized than Europeans. We know now, however, that they had no real civilization, and that their "cities" were far less like the cities of Europe than the Spaniards at first thought.

However much the many tribes are known to differ, it seems to be beyond doubt that they are all of one race, and in many ways alike. We are now to begin the story of the lives the white men lived among them.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The land we call America was once a great wilderness. Only red people lived here.
2. Some of these red people were fierce and warlike. Some of them lived less savage lives, building stone houses, farming, weaving, and doing many things such as civilized people do.

THINGS TO READ

1. "American Indians," Starr.
2. "The Making of New England," Drake, pp. 10-12, 16-18, 49-51, 142-148, 184-186.

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3. "The Making of the Great West," Drake, pp. 20-28, 39-52.
4. "The Making of Virginia," Drake, pp. 40-42, 90-107.
5. "Pioneers of the Rocky Mountains and the West," McMurry, pp. 165-200.
6. "The Spanish in the Southwest," Winterburn, pp. 9-42.
7. "Wigwam Stories," Judd.
8. "Indians and Pioneers," Hazard and Dutton, pp. 11-88.
9. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 27-39.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the exact meaning of *dusky*, *invisible*, *ancient*, *customs*, *civilized*.
2. Make a list of places in America that have Indian names. Find out the meaning of as many as you can.
3. Think of a possible reason why the Indians of South America and the West Indies were less warlike than those of North America.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Find pictures of Indians and their homes.
2. Draw pictures of Indian wigwams and canoes, writing to accompany each a short description of how the Indians made it.
3. Make a picture of an Indian village: show the forest, the camp fire, the wigwams, and a little stream or lake, with canoes.
4. Write about any Indian relics you have seen — arrow heads, hatchets, etc.
5. Tell about the life of the Indians of the Southwest.

VII

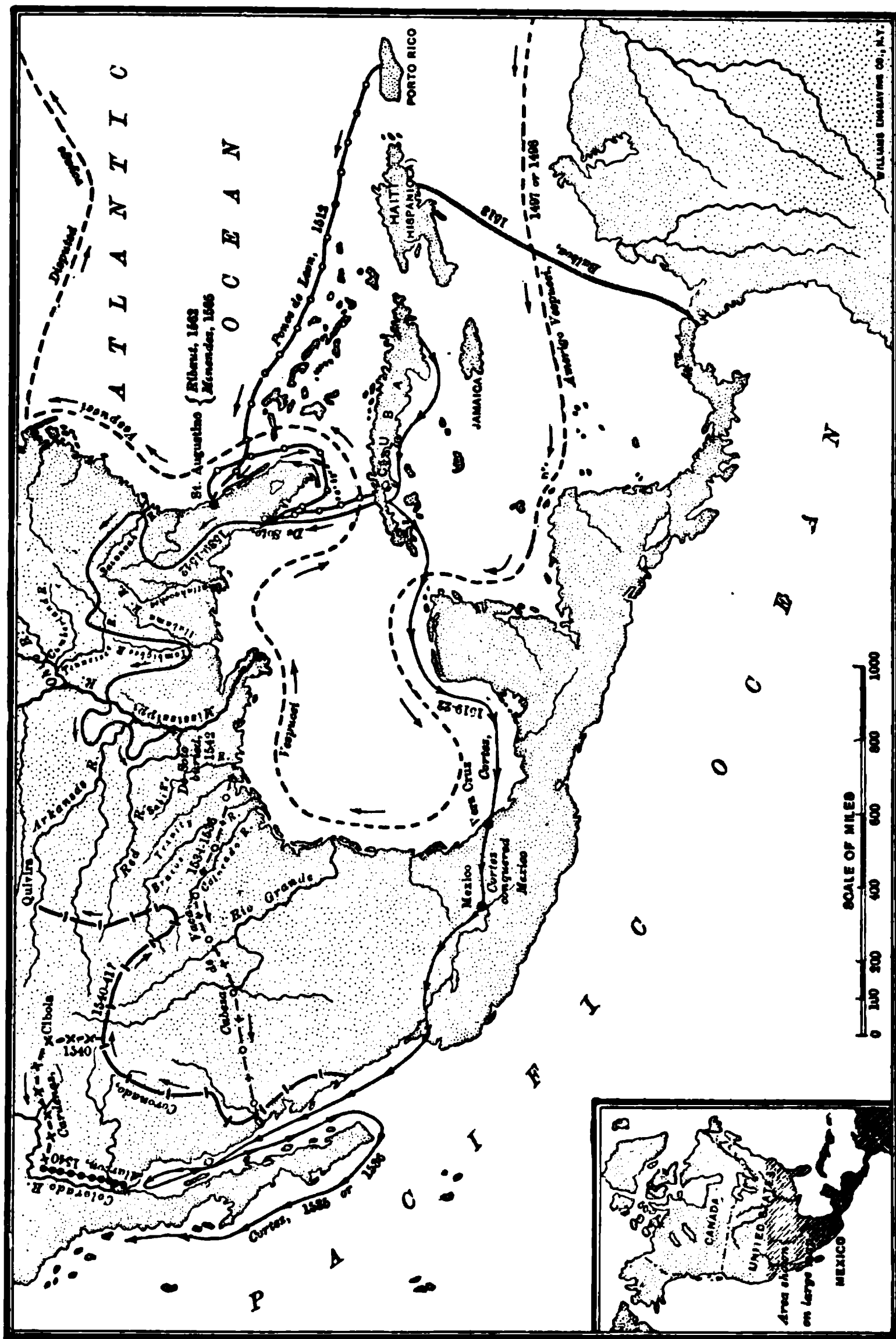
SPAIN'S ATTEMPTS AT COLONIZING NORTH AMERICA

SPAIN had led in the discovery of the New World, and for a time it seemed as if she would lead also in building colonies there. At this time Spain was the strongest nation in Europe, especially on the sea, and she soon set out to make the new countries really her own. Colonies were planted on the islands of the West Indies, and governors appointed. Exploring expeditions were sent out, and wonderful stories were told in Spain of the riches of the new possessions.

In 1519 a Spaniard named Cortez found the land of the Aztecs in Mexico. The Spaniards were astonished at the wealth of the Aztecs, and they could not rest until the treasure was made their own. So Cortez entered upon the conquest of the country. The Aztecs were treated very unjustly and often very cruelly. The Indian city of Mexico, which contained many temples and palaces, was entirely destroyed. Cortez

A few years later Francisco Pizarro found and conquered the land of the Incas in Peru. Like the Aztecs, the Peruvians possessed great wealth, and they were treated with much cruelty in order to force them to give up their gold. At last Pizarro the Spaniards had found the gold and silver they sought. Ships laden with treasure went home to Spain; every one was eager to seek a fortune in the New World.

Most of the explorers turned to the South, where the gold and other treasures were said to be found. For some years no one paid much attention to the lands north of the West Indies. In 1513, however, a Spaniard, an old man named Ponce de Leon, sailed north from Hispaniola, searching for an island containing



Spanish Explorations

Note on the small map the portion of the continent explored by Spain.

SPAIN'S ATTEMPTS AT COLONIZING NORTH AMERICA 37

a fountain which he had been told would bring back his lost youth again. It was a vain search, but his voyaging brought him to the beautiful land of Florida, of which he took possession for Spain. Although the Spaniards made several attempts to settle Florida, it was many years before they established a successful colony. In 1565 the beginnings of the Spanish town of St. Augustine were made on the Florida coast. St. Augustine is thus the oldest town in the United States.

The discovery
and settle-
ment of
Florida

De Soto's Discovery of the Mississippi
From Powell's painting in the Capitol at Washington.

Nearly twenty years before this time, in 1539, a large party of Spaniards under Hernando de Soto had sailed to Florida, and had set out from there to make a journey across the country in search of gold. Three years they wandered, having fearful

battles with the Indians and seeing none of the treasure they had expected to find. De Soto's great work was the discovery of the Mississippi. He crossed the great river with his men, and turning north traveled along its bank for many miles. Still finding no gold, De Soto was overcome with disappointment. He grew sick and died. His body was laid to rest in the waters of the river, and his men, building a few rough boats, sailed down the stream, finally reaching a Spanish colony in Mexico.

The Missis-
sippi discov-
ered by De
Soto in 1541

Several exploring parties set out from Mexico in search of the treasure which ever shone before the Spaniards' eyes. Rumors of seven wonderful cities to the north across the desert fired their imaginations, and various attempts were made to find and plunder them, as Cortez and Pizarro had done in Mexico and Peru. The most important of these was led by Coronado in the Southwest, 1540-1542, Coronado, governor of a Mexican province. Gayly he set out, with more than a thousand men, making a long march across the desert lands; eagerly he listened to the tales of Indian guides, and at last the seven cities were in sight. But alas for Spanish greed! — they were but Indian villages, the clay-built houses of the Zuni cliff dwellers. Great was the disappointment, but Coronado pressed on, lured by other stories of

splendor and wealth. For many weary months they marched, until they reached the broad prairie lands of Kansas or Nebraska. They saw millions of buffaloes, but of gold and silver there was none.

Until 1565, as we have already said, no lasting settlement was made. Following

The Spanish Gate, St. Augustine

St. Augustine, other settlements were made, but they were in most cases merely missions for the conversion of the Indians to

the Catholic faith. The most important of these was Santa Fé, established in 1582. Of colonies, to which Spaniards came to make homes, there were none.

In spite of many failures in her attempts at colonizing North America, Spain continued to claim it. In South America she became powerful. The power that she once had there is shown by the fact that, though Spain no longer owns any of the New World, the Spanish language may be heard from Mexico to the southernmost point of South America.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. Spanish colonies were early planted in the West Indies. Spanish adventurers set out to explore the mainland, and wonderful stories were told of what they found.
2. Mexico and Peru were conquered, and gold and silver found. Spain became rich from the treasure she obtained from them.
3. Ponce de Leon found Florida; De Soto found the Mississippi; Coronado explored the desert and prairie lands of the Middle West.
4. St. Augustine was founded in 1565; Santa Fé in 1582.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Discoverers and Explorers," Shaw, pp. 54-101.
2. "The Spanish in the Southwest," Winterburn, pp. 43-222.
3. "A Book of American Explorers," Higginson, pp. 121-140. (De Soto.)
4. "Pioneers on Land and Sea," McMurry, pp. 186-226. (Cortez, Ponce de Leon.)
5. "Pioneers of the Rocky Mountains and the West," McMurry, pp. 225-248. (Coronado.)
6. "De Soto in the Land of Florida," King.
7. "Pioneer Spaniards in North America," Johnson, pp. 129-192.
8. "Pizarro," Towle.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the exact meaning of *expedition*, *imagination*, *plunder*, *lured*.
2. Look for Spanish names in the parts of the United States where the Spanish made early attempts at settlement.
3. Find out all you can about St. Augustine.

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4. Try, with your teacher's help, to think out reasons why the Spaniards did not succeed in making permanent settlements in North America. Why did they succeed better in Mexico and South America?

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Show De Soto's journey on a map.
2. Make a list of Spanish discoverers and explorers. Use the form given below.

DATE	EXPLORER	REGIONS VISITED	SETTLEMENTS MADE

3. Write about St. Augustine. Tell when and by whom the city was founded; how old it is now; what the city is like now; traces of the Spaniards.

VIII

FRENCH EXPLORATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS

VERY soon after the voyages of Columbus we begin to hear of fishermen who came across the Atlantic to the great fishing banks off Newfoundland. As early as 1504 we know that they came, and from this time on their numbers steadily increase. There were not many Spanish vessels among them; the Spaniards would rather sail to the south for gold than to the north for cod-fish. The French and the Portuguese did most of the fishing, and soon built up a profitable business.

In 1524 a sailor named Verrazano explored, in a French ship, the coast of North America from North Carolina to New England, and ten years later Jacques Cartier began his **Verrazano**, voyages up the St. Lawrence. He sailed up the **1524** river, and, feeling sure that it was a strait to the Pacific, thought he had found a northwestern route to China. He turned back when winter approached, without finding his mistake.

The next year he came again, and went farther up the river, past the cliff upon which the quaint old city of Quebec now stands. There were then only a few wigwams to be **Cartier**, seen on the great rock, and Cartier sailed on to find a **1534-1535** village which the Indians told him was the greatest of their nation.

He found it on an island, nestled at the foot of a lofty hill which he named Mont Real (Mount Royal). To-day a beautiful city occupies the place of the Indian village of long ago. Now noisy steamers rush through the waters disturbed then only by the silent paddle of the Indian canoe. The forests where the hunter drew his bow are gone. Where the slender silver thread from the Indian campfire pushed its way upward through the

French Explorations
Compare the small continent with that showing Spanish explorations on page 36. Notice how French and Spanish claims overlap.

trees, the smoke of a great city now hangs. But it keeps the name the early voyager gave it — Montreal.

A few years later an attempt was made to establish a colony on the St. Lawrence, but it was a failure. The beautiful river was deserted, and for many years no vessels sailed to Canada except those of the fishermen. War and confusion reigned in France. New religious beliefs were springing up, and the friends of the established Church were fighting bitterly to crush them.

The Protestants, as the believers in the new religion were called, were increasing in numbers in almost every country of Europe. They suffered much for their religion, for **Huguenot** in those days rulers thought it their right to settle **attempts at** the beliefs of their subjects, and to cause all to **colonization** support the "established church." Some of the Huguenots, or French Protestants, tried to escape persecution by going away from France to make new homes in the New World. A colony was begun on the coast of Brazil in 1555, but it failed. A second attempt was made in 1562, at a place on the coast of South Carolina, called by the French Port Royal. This, too, was a sad failure. Yet again, however, did the Huguenots make the trial in 1564. And this time was the last. For after the hardest days in the new settlement on the St. John's River in Florida had been lived through, there suddenly appeared in the harbor a fleet of grim black ships flying the banner of Spain. Menendez, the cruel commander, had come to destroy the settlement, and every man, woman, and child in it met death at his hands.

The fishermen went steadily on with their voyages to the north, however, and after a time a new industry grew up. Furs could easily be obtained from the Indians, who would exchange valuable skins for a knife or a few beads. Fur trading became an important business, and interest in New France grew once more. At last, under the leadership of Samuel de Champlain,

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who was one of the greatest men of his time, a colony was formed at Quebec, in 1608, which did not fail. And from this

Founding of Quebec in 1608 by Champlain	time on it is the French who explore most of the unknown land of North America. Deep into the wilderness they travel, up and down the great valleys, finding the Great Lakes, sailing down the Mississippi, and everywhere claiming what they find for France. Spain no longer owns all the New World. Face to face with her stands France, holding aloft the banner of the lilies, which is to wave over the valleys and the mountains, the broad plains
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and the blue waters of New France.

The story of the French in Canada is the story of a few brave men, — of Champlain, La Salle, Marquette, and of their faithful followers ; of the black-robed priests, who toiled to convert the Indians, and to explore the land. It is a story of wild adventure, and often of bitter disappointment.

Champlain hoped at first that he might find the passage to the western ocean which Cartier had tried to find. He

Quebec in Early Days

questioned the Indians eagerly, and they told him many stories of the "great water" to the west of the St. Lawrence. These stories, confused as they were, encouraged Champlain to explore the

country. He first saw the lake that bears his name the year after Quebec was settled (1609). In 1615 Lake Huron was found. It was first seen by a priest, who was on his way to establish a mission among the Indians, and ten days later by Champlain himself. A few weeks after this Champlain first saw Lake Ontario.

Finding
the Great
Lakes

These great "fresh-water seas" filled the explorers with wonder. But the Indians still talked of more "great waters," and sometimes of the "Father of Waters." There must be more wonders beyond.

The French adventurers were becoming used to the wild life now, and made many journeys through the great forests, making friends with the Indians, buying furs, and living lives as free, and sometimes almost as savage, as those of the red men themselves. In their canoes they explored the rivers and the smaller lakes, and sometimes made great discoveries. In 1634 Lake Michigan was found by one of these woodrangers, in 1659 Lake Superior by two more, and ten years later Lake Erie by still another. The wonderful chain of Great Lakes was complete.

The French
as wood-
rangers

And all through these years the priests had been as busy as the woodsmen. Many of them had gone into the forests to live among the Indians, and to show them a better way of life. "Blackgown," as the Indians sometimes called a priest, was usually welcome in the Indian village, and often the Indians would help him build a little chapel of bark.

Canadian Fur Trader

Farther and farther into the forests went the priests, as they heard of new tribes to whom they might preach their religion. In their journeys they learned much about the country, and so

helped along the work of exploration. One of the best known of these missionary priests is Father Marquette. His short life here

Marquette and Joliet find the Mississippi, 1673 in America was full of sorrow, yet full of courage and devotion. Together with Joliet, the woodsman who had found Lake Erie, Marquette set out to find the great river — the “Father of Waters” that the Indians talked of. To these two, the trader and the missionary, belongs

the honor of exploring the Mississippi. In their canoes they followed the great river for hundreds of miles, stopping finally near the mouth of the Arkansas, at almost the very place where De Soto had died, more than a hundred years before. Then they turned back to carry the news of their discoveries to Canada. This was in 1673.

Only a few years before this Robert La Salle had come from France to Canada, determined to explore thoroughly the great

La Salle reaches the mouth of the Mississippi, 1683 waterways of New France. It was he who reached the mouth of the Mississippi, and who took possession of the whole river valley for France. He

A French Missionary named it Louisiana in honor of King Louis. The adventures of La Salle make an excit-

ing story. His plan was to build a line of forts all the way from Canada to his settlement in Louisiana. But misfortunes overtook him, and he did not live to see his plans carried out.

It is in stories like that of La Salle that we may see the courage and perseverance of the men who made New France. By the year 1700 there were probably about ten thousand settlers in Canada and Louisiana. France had left Spain far behind in founding North American colonies; but while she was doing so, she herself had been left behind by the country whose colonies

we shall study next, — by England, who began her work of colonizing later than either France or Spain, but whose colonies came at last to be the most important on the new continent.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. In 1524 Verrazano explored the eastern coast of North America for France.
2. In 1534 and 1535 Cartier explored the St. Lawrence.
3. Trading in furs on the St. Lawrence led to the founding of Quebec by Champlain in 1608.
4. Marquette and Joliet explored the Mississippi as far as the mouth of the Arkansas in 1673.
5. La Salle reached the mouth of the Mississippi, and took possession of the whole valley for France, in 1683.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Discovery of the Old Northwest," Baldwin.
2. "Heroes of the Middle West," Catherwood.
3. "The Story of Tonty," Catherwood.
4. "Pioneers of the Mississippi Valley," McMurry, pp. 1-67.
5. "A Book of American Explorers," Higginson, pp. 97-117, 143-166, 269-278.
6. "French Pathfinders in North America," Johnson.
7. "Story of the Great Lakes," Channing and Lansing, pp. 1-84.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the exact meaning of *industry, wilderness, convert, perseverance*.
2. Questions for brief or written answers: —

With what two rivers are the early explorations of the French connected? What lakes were discovered by Frenchmen? When and by whom was Quebec founded? What two products of Canada led Frenchmen thither? What kind of work did the French priests undertake in the new country?

3. Look for French names which still survive on the map of North America.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Make a list of French explorers, using the form given you at the close of Chapter VIII.
2. Make a map, showing in color the regions claimed by France in America.
3. Write briefly the story of one of the French explorers: Cartier, Champlain, Joliet, Marquette, La Salle.

IX

ENGLAND'S FIRST ATTEMPTS AT COLONIZATION

WHILE Spain was finding gold mines in the mountains of South America, and sending home ships laden with treasure, which made her more than ever the richest of European nations, and while France was exploring and laying claim to the fertile valleys of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi, what was England doing?

She had, to be sure, sent out Cabot and his son at the very beginning, but they brought home little in return for the expense of their two voyages; so no one followed where they led the way. The English showed very little interest in America for nearly a century.

English sailors had entered early upon the slave trade started by the Portuguese, and under the leadership of Sir John Hawkins
Hawkins kins trade in slaves became a common and a profit-
and Drake able business. In 1652 Captain Hawkins started upon a voyage to get a cargo of negroes from their African homes, and to carry them to the West Indies. He found the Spanish planters very glad to buy the negroes for slaves, and he soon sailed home with his ships laden with the rich products of the islands.

On a later voyage Hawkins met a Spanish fleet, whose captains treacherously attacked him after they had agreed not to fire on his ships. Three of his vessels and many of his men were lost. You can guess how angry the English were when the story was told at home.

There had been, ever since Elizabeth became queen of England, a growing hatred between Englishmen and Spaniards. And now, after this attack upon Hawkins's fleet, English sailors would

seize a Spanish ship wherever they could find one. The English government decided to help the Dutch in Holland, who were trying to gain their independence from Spain. Many Spanish treasure ships were captured by Hawkins, Francis Drake, and other bold seamen.

It was Drake who devised the plan of sailing around Cape Horn into the Pacific to attack the rich Spanish colonies on the western coast of South America. He would dart suddenly into a quiet harbor, when the Spaniards had no idea that there was an Englishman within two or three thousand miles, seize the valuable cargoes of the ships preparing to sail, and be out again and off to sea before the Spaniards had time to recover from their surprise. Finally he sailed across the Pacific, around the Cape of Good Hope, and back to England.

War was declared between Spain and England in 1585, and then the Spanish king determined to punish these daring men who were cutting off the supplies from his rich colonies over the ocean, and to show them that Spain was still mistress of the seas. So he set to work to get together a great fleet.

Meanwhile an Englishman, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, had become interested in the idea of building up a new Eng-
lish nation in America.

Gilbert and
Raleigh

Twice he sent out colonists, going with them himself the second time, but neither attempt succeeded, and

Sir Walter Raleigh

when the second band of colonists was returning to England, Gilbert lost his life in a storm at sea.

His half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, who was a great favorite with the queen, obtained her permission to go on with his brother's

work. He thought that building a colony was too great a work for one person to attempt; that it ought to be done by the government. There were many reasons why Raleigh thought a colony in America would be a good thing for England; and he asked a friend to write out some of these reasons in the hope of interesting Queen Elizabeth and her courtiers in the land across the sea.

Some of these reasons why an English colony in America was desirable were very good reasons indeed. England was growing to have a great many people, he said, and since it was so small an island, the time would come when not enough grain and other food could be raised there to supply them all. This was especially true since so many English farms had been made into pastures for sheep. If England had a colony in America, there would be plenty of room in that broad country to raise enough and to spare.

It would be a good place to send the poor people who could not find work in England. In a new country there would be work for all who came. Then, too, think what a fine market such a colony would make for English goods. It would trade with England and thus help her to grow richer. It would also be a good stopping-place for the ships that were sailing to find a northwest passage to Asia. And it would be a great help in weakening the power of Spain.

Queen Elizabeth quite agreed that all these things were true, but she was not at all inclined to spend the nation's money for such an enterprise, so Raleigh had to go on without her aid. He

**First settle-
ment at
Roanoke** chose the part of the country we now call North Carolina, and in 1585 he sent out a band of one hundred persons, who made a settlement on Roanoke Island. At the end of a year they were suffering from lack of food, and when Sir Francis Drake, with a fleet of twenty-three vessels, appeared, they were glad enough to accept his offer to take them home.

The next year Raleigh tried it again, and the island of Roanoke was once more occupied by busy settlers. But the second colony, like the first, came to nothing.

Soon after Raleigh made this second attempt, England was thrown into great excitement by the news that King Philip's fleet, the "Invincible Armada," as the Spaniards called it, was on its way from Spain. Englishmen everywhere were hastily summoned to give King Philip a

The "lost colony"

Raleigh's Colonists on Roanoke Island

rousing welcome. English ships and English sailors gathered in the Channel to await the foe, until there were about as many vessels as in King Philip's fleet. They were smaller, however, and had fewer guns, but were easier to manage than the Spanish ships. Then there were the "sea kings." King Philip did not have men like Drake and

The Spanish Armada

Hawkins or any of the bold company that had ranged the seas and struck terror to the hearts of Spanish seamen.

It was a great battle. When it was over, it seemed at first impossible to believe that Spain, the mistress of the seas, had been beaten. But it was true! Away up through the North Sea the Englishmen drove the Spanish ships, and many of them

Meeting of English Ships with Spanish Armada
From an old tapestry in the English House of Lords.

were lost on the stormy voyage around Scotland and back to Spain.

The year 1588 was a great one for England, for then she broke the power of her rival on the sea. In the next three years she followed up this victory by others. More than eight hundred Spanish ships were destroyed. Nothing could now keep the English from sailing when and where they pleased.

But the little colony at Roanoke! When at last the sea was safe for English ships, they found no trace of the settlers at Roanoke. Nothing has ever been known of them to this day.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The English became interested in America later than the other nations of Europe.
2. In 1562 Sir John Hawkins began the slave trade by seizing negroes from their homes in Africa and selling them to the planters in the West Indies.
3. The English and Spanish people hated each other. They seized each other's ships wherever they could find them.
4. Francis Drake, Hawkins, and others seized many Spanish ships. Because of their daring deeds these men were sometimes known as the "sea kings."
5. Sir Humphrey Gilbert tried twice to found a colony in America, but failed.
6. Sir Walter Raleigh tried twice also, and also failed.
7. In 1588 English ships defeated the Spanish Armada. The power of Spain on the sea was broken forever.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Book of American Explorers," Higginson, pp. 177-200.
2. "Drake and His Yeomen," Barnes.
3. "Raleigh," Towle.
4. "Raleigh and the Potato," in *Wide Awake*, Vol. 28, p. 313.
5. "American Hero Stories," Tappan, pp. 24-37.
6. "Pioneers of the Rocky Mountains and the West," McMurry, pp. 201-224.
7. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 57-60.
8. "Vikings of the Pacific," Laut, pp. 133-171.
9. "Students' History of the United States," Channing, pp. 40-46.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *fertile*, *profitable*, *invincible*, *Armada*.
2. Find Roanoke Island on a map in your geography.
3. Find out all that you can about the two plants brought from America by Raleigh's colonists. Were they good things to discover?

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Write a story about Drake. Imagine you were a Spaniard living in a Spanish colony on the west coast of South America. Describe Drake's raid upon the place where you lived.
2. Ask your teacher to tell you the story of little Virginia Dare. Write the story in your notebook.

X

VIRGINIA

GILBERT's failures and Raleigh's failures had accomplished at least one thing. People in England had become interested in America, and since Spain was no longer "mistress of the seas,"

several voyages were made to explore the coast, which the English had come to call "Virginia." Times were changing, and the old days of searching for gold and treasure were almost over. The sixteenth century had been an age of discovery, an exploring age. Much had been found that was new and wonderful, and the countries of Europe had hastened to claim as much as they could of the New World. It had been shown, however, that the new continent had few gold mines, and no great cities with whose people the merchants of Europe could build up trade; and the people of Europe began to see that their new territory would be

Charter of 1606 provided for Two Colonies

The first might be made anywhere on coast between 34° and 41°; the second anywhere between 38° and 45°. The two colonies must not however be within 100 miles of each other.

valuable only if they made it so by occupying the lands they claimed, and building up for themselves the trade they desired.

The English were perhaps the last to see this, but with the beginning of the new century many of the business men of the country had come to see the value of making colonies, and so interest in Virginia grew. Finally some of these business men asked permission of the king to send out colonists, and he granted them a charter, or a statement of the rights they might have in the new land.

Two companies were at once formed, one to settle each of the two colonies for which the royal charter gave permission. The one interested in the southern colony was known as the London Company, because most of its members lived in London. The other was called the Plymouth Company. The Plymouth Company tried to make a settlement on the Kennebec River in what is now the state of Maine, but it failed, and the company never accomplished much.

The London Company sent out a fleet of three vessels, with about a hundred colonists, just before Christmas, 1606. The colonists carried with them The London Company a paper telling them many important things about choosing a place for the settlement, and how to deal with the Indians. They had also in a sealed box the names of the members of the council appointed by the company from their own number to rule them. This box was not to be opened until they reached land.

Among the colonists on one of the vessels was a man named John Smith, who afterward became such an important person

John Smith

Captain John Smith

in the colony that it will be well for us to take time to find out what sort of man he was. Many stories are told of his early life and his strange adventures. Just what part of these stories we are to believe it is hard to tell.

We know that he had been a soldier, and that he fought in Holland against the Spaniards. After that it is said that he spent several years in fighting against the Turks, and doing many strange and wonderful things. Once he was captured and held as a slave by the Turks, but he finally escaped, so the story goes and came home to England not long before the London Company's ships were to start for Virginia. He was the sort of man to like the adventurous life of a new settlement, so we find him on board ship, sailing toward the new land.

It would be interesting to know what it was that led the men on the little ships to leave their homes for a wild country so far away. Perhaps one was poor, another discontented, another longing for adventure. It was a chance to see the world, perhaps to make a fortune. Not many, I fear, had any thought of making homes in Virginia, where they should live always, and where their children should live after them.

There were no women in the party, nor were there many men who were used to hard work. More than half of the number did not even know how to chop down a tree. There were men whose business it was to refine gold, but alas! they were to find no gold to work upon. There was even a man who could make perfumes; but farmers, who would know how to raise food for the settlement, and strong laborers, who could fell trees and build houses, were entirely lacking.

Even before they landed, quarrels broke out among the men. They accused Smith of trying to start a rebellion, and he was kept in irons during the rest of the voyage. After two months of sailing the fleet approached the land. A storm drove them to take refuge in what we now call Chesapeake Bay. They explored it a little, and finding the mouth of a river, sailed up the stream, which they named James, in honor of the king. They determined to settle on the shore of this river. It was not a very good place for a settlement, being low and marshy. But it was a beautiful spot, and the colonists were well pleased with it.

They opened the box which contained the names of the council, read the names, and the members were sworn into office. Work on the fort was begun, and it was soon Jamestown finished. The settlement of Jamestown, or James settled, 1607 Cittie, as it was often called, was really begun. The first successful English colony was thus planted in 1607. The first summer at Jamestown was a hard one. There was soon very little left of the food brought in the ships, and the corn the colonists had planted was not yet ready for harvesting. The low, marshy land upon which they had built was unhealthful, and most of the settlers were sick. Many died, so that by the end of September only half the company was left. Smith, who was placed in charge of the supplies, showed himself very skillful in getting corn from the Indians, and so, no doubt, kept the settlers from great suffering, and perhaps from starvation.

At first the settlers found the Powhatans, their nearest Indian neighbors, friendly, but there were other tribes not far away which gave them trouble. Even the Powhatans were not always to be trusted. Once during the winter, when Smith was exploring the country, they attacked him, and after killing his two companions, prepared to kill him. He was tied to a tree to be burned, but it is said that he showed them his little pocket compass, which so delighted them that they let him go. Another time they were about to kill him, so an old story tells us, when the chief's daughter, Pocahontas, begged her father to let him go, and the old chief consented.

The second summer was easier than the first. One hundred new settlers had come to join the company, and not so many died during the hot months. Smith was made president of the council, and things seemed to be going very well. In September another band of colonists arrived.

But the London Company was getting impatient. Where was the gold that was to pay them for the expense of settling Virginia? Where was the passage to the Pacific that they had

expected the colonists to find? Where were the traces of Raleigh's lost colonists they had been told to look for? "What was Virginia good for?" they asked. When Smith was told all this, he said, with more truth than politeness, that the London Company were fools!

Soon after this some one found a bank of bright yellow dirt, and the news spread rapidly. Gold was found at last! All other

work was dropped and every one set to work to prepare a cargo of gold to send home to England. But it was wasted labor. When the ship reached England, it was found that the "yellow stuff" was not gold at all, so that the company was more disgusted than ever.

In 1609 word was brought to Virginia that the London Company had obtained a new charter. Hereafter there was to be no council in Virginia. A governor appointed by the council in London was to rule the colony. Lord Delaware had been appointed governor,

London Company's Charter of 1609

and would soon start for Jamestown. Already a fleet of nine vessels was on the way, bringing many new colonists.

These new arrivals proved harder to manage than the others had been. They were mostly idle adventurers, who had no intention of doing any hard work. Matters grew worse when Smith, who had been injured by an explosion of gunpowder, had to go home to England. The newcomers soon made trouble with the Indians, who began to murder settlers whenever they found

a chance. When winter came, there was not enough shelter for all the men, and food became scarce.

Then came a time when the last handful of corn was gone. The people tried to live upon roots and herbs; they ate their dogs; they even devoured rats; at last they became cannibals, eating the bodies of their dead companions. ~~The starving~~ ^{time}

In the time between October and May, the number dwindled from five hundred to sixty, and they were almost starved, — so weak that they could scarcely move about.

Was this to be another failure? It seemed so. Captain Newport came in May, after a long voyage, during which he had been wrecked on one of the Bermuda Islands. He brought food, but not enough to last long. It would be better to give up and take the miserable sufferers home to England. All the work, all the sorrow and suffering, had been for nothing. Virginia must be left once more to the red men.

Sadly the little cabins were deserted, and the unhappy settlers taken on board the ships. The sails were set, and slowly the ships moved down the river, the colonists looking back for a long farewell to the land of their bitter disappointment.

But the voyage was a short one after all, and when they landed once more, it was not in England, the home across the sea, but in the new home they had left three days before. For, as they sailed on their sorrowful way down the river, there came a welcome sight — Lord Delaware's ships, pushing their way sturdily along, with Lord Delaware standing on the deck, thanking God that he had come in time to save Virginia.

After this the colony prospered under the rule of Lord Delaware and the governors he appointed. Each settler was made to work for his own home instead of for the common welfare of the settlement. The raising of tobacco was begun, and was found to be profitable. Settlers moved farther and farther away from the town, so that they might have room for their great fields or plantations of tobacco.

To make the men of the colony more contented, and to help them in making homes, the company in England sent over two shiploads of young women, who were to be married to the settlers. Each man was to pay the company about a hundred pounds of tobacco for his wife. This seems a queer arrangement, but it proved to be a good one. Families grew up on the lonely plantations, better houses were built, and at last Virginia began to be a country of real homes.

In 1619 a Dutch ship, returning from a voyage to the West Indies, came to Jamestown, with twenty negroes, who were sold to the settlers as slaves. This was the beginning of negro slavery in our country. It was found that these black men and women, who had lived in the hot parts of Africa, could bear the heat of the Virginia summer better than the white people, so they were eagerly sought for to work on the tobacco plantations. Slaveholding became a feature of plantation life, and the number of slaves rapidly increased.

In the same year that slaves were introduced the first lawmaking body of the Virginia people came together. This was an assembly of men who came from every part of Virginia to Jamestown to make the laws for the colony. The plantations were by this time so widely scattered that it would have been impossible for all the men of the colony to meet at Jamestown. So the people of each neighborhood selected one or two of their ~~The House of~~ number to represent them in the House of Burgesses, ~~Burgesses~~ as the lawmaking body was called. This was the beginning of

Wealthy Virginians of Later Colonial Days

self-government in America. When, in 1624, the charter of the London Company was taken away by the king, and Virginia became a royal colony, the people were afraid that they would no longer be allowed to have their House of Burgesses, but the king did not interfere with it.

Virginia was on the road to prosperity. During the next century it became a large and thriving colony, peopled by rich planters who owned great plantations and many slaves, and who were

known everywhere for their loyalty to the Church of England and to the king.

As wealth increases, life in Virginia becomes a pleasant thing, even though the wilderness and the Indians are close at hand. In his boat, manned by well-trained slaves, the planter, with the ladies of his household, may be swiftly rowed from his little wharf on some one of the hundreds of little creeks opening upon the James, to some neighboring plantation, only a few miles distant. A cordial welcome will await them, and we shall hear the gentle laughter of the ladies mingled with the tapping of their high-heeled shoes upon the oaken floors, while the heavier tread and the louder voices of the men may be heard as they wander about outside, smoking their pipes of Virginia tobacco, and talking of the crops or the latest news from Jamestown, or from "home," as they still call England.

We need fear no longer that the colony in Virginia will not succeed. There are homes there, with peace and plenty reigning in them, and in the busy world of work about them. The hard days for Virginia are over.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. Some business men of England obtained permission from the king to found a colony in Virginia.

2. A settlement was made in 1607. It was called Jamestown.

3. The settlers were not well fitted for the work they had to do.

4. Captain John Smith did a great deal for the colonists. Sometimes they would have starved but for him and the way he ruled them.

5. At one time after Smith went home to England food became so scarce that the colonists were near starvation. This was known as the "Starving Time." The colonists gave up and had started for England when help came to them. They returned to Virginia.

6. After this the colony grew strong and prosperous.

7. Slavery was begun in 1619.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Stories of the Old Dominion," Cooke, pp. 2-64.
2. "American Pioneers," Mowry, pp. 34-46.
3. "Indians and Pioneers," Hazard and Dutton, pp. 138-161.
4. "The Colonies," Smith and Dutton, pp. 11-40.
5. "A Book of American Explorers," Higginson, pp. 231-265.
6. "The Making of Virginia," Drake, pp. 31-35.
7. "Colonial Stories retold from *St. Nicholas*," pp. 3-26.
8. "Colonial Children," Hart, pp. 63-64; 71-79; 98-104; 149-152; 165-170; 175-177.
9. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 55-75.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the exact meaning of *charter, council, to refine gold, marshy, compass, slavery, assembly, represent.*

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

Virginia

1. Virginia was first settled in the year _____. The first settlement was at _____. Among the first colonists _____ was the man best adapted to governing the colonists. The settlers were _____ fitted for life in the wilderness. It was many years before the colony became _____. The raising of _____ became an important industry. _____ slaves were brought to Virginia to work on the _____. The first shipload of slaves was brought in the year _____.
2. Imagine yourself to be one of the settlers of Jamestown. Write a letter to some friend in England, describing your new life. Tell about the country; compare it with England; tell about the town; about the way you have to spend your time; about the hardships of your life; whether or not you are contented in America.

XI

THE PILGRIMS AT PLYMOUTH

LONG before Virginia had reached the prosperous days of which we have been reading, there were other colonies established along the Atlantic shore of the new continent. The settlement of Virginia was from the first a business enterprise. The next colony we are to study was established for very different reasons. To understand them we must know some things which had been going on in England for many years before 1620, when the settlement was made.

We have already spoken of new religious beliefs, which had caused disagreement in various parts of Europe. In England the Protestants became powerful, and under Queen Elizabeth the services of the Church of England were conducted according to the Protestant ideas. All the Queen's subjects were ordered to attend these services. The Roman Catholics must give up their Church or be punished, said the Queen.

But now it came about that many people in England were not much better satisfied with the Church of England than they had been with the Roman Catholic Church. The
The Puritans Church still had too many forms and ceremonies to please them. They wished to do away with these. This they said would "purify" the Church; so they were called Puritans. They were people that read the Bible a great deal, and tried to live as the Bible told them. They condemned many of the fashions and amusements of the time; they dressed in sober colors, and instead of wearing immense wigs, which were fashionable at

that time, they wore their hair cut short. Because of this, their enemies called them Roundheads.

After a time there grew up among the Puritans a class of people who decided that it was of no use to try to reform the Church of England, and that it would be better to form new churches of their own, where they could worship God in what they believed to be the true way. These people were called Sepa- ~~The Separatists~~ ratists, because they wished to separate from the ~~ists~~ established church. Some of them tried to carry out their plan, and they formed a congregation in London. This was broken up by order of the queen, however, and many of its members sent to jail. But this did not keep the number of Separatists from increasing.

When Queen Elizabeth died, and King James took her place in 1603, both Puritans and Separatists were treated more harshly than ever. The members of one Separatist congregation suffered so much that they fled from England in 1609, and ~~Separatists~~ settled in Holland. In the city of Leyden they re- ~~settle in~~ ~~Holland~~ mained for eleven years, increasing from three hundred to a thousand in that time. They were called Pilgrims because they had journeyed from their homes for their religion.

Before the eleventh year had come to an end, the Pilgrims had decided to set out once more in search of new homes. The Dutch people in Leyden had been very kind to them, but the Pilgrims did not like to think that as their children and grandchildren grew up they would learn to speak Dutch instead of English, and marry Dutch husbands and wives, until after a time they would almost forget that they were English people. It would be better to go away somewhere by themselves, and build up a new nation, where they could bring up their children to be real English men and women.

America seemed the very place for them, so they decided to settle there on the Delaware River. They obtained a grant of land from the London Company, and asked King James for a charter,

but he would not give them one. However, he said they should be let alone "as long as they behaved properly."

In 1620, those of the Leyden congregation who had volunteered to go first and try the new plan sailed from Holland in a rather rickety old ship, the *Speedwell*; touching at Southampton in England, they were joined by another ship, the *Mayflower*. This ship had on board a few friends who were to join the company in England. The *Speedwell*

The voyage
of the *May-
flower*, 1620

Embarkation of the Pilgrims

proved to be unsafe for such a voyage, and they had to come back to port with her, and leave her behind. All but twenty of her passengers were crowded on board the *Mayflower*, making one hundred and two in all. Among these was Captain Miles Standish, who, although not a believer in their church, had become attached to the Pilgrims in Holland, and now went with them to build a new home in the forests of America.

It was a long voyage, and a stormy one. The little ship was

sadly tossed about by the great waves, and when it finally reached North America, it was many miles north of the Delaware River. Turning the ship southward, they tried to go on, but a storm came, which forced them to take refuge in Cape Cod Bay.

Being tired of the crowded vessel, it was proposed that they make a home here instead of wandering farther, and the plan was adopted. For five weeks they remained in the harbor, while exploring parties went to look for a good place in which to begin their little town. At last the question was settled, and building began.

The place chosen was one that had been called Plymouth, on a map made by Captain John Smith, and the Pilgrims kept the name. You may see there now the rock upon which some of the colonists are said to have landed. It is called Plymouth Rock, and is famous throughout the whole country.

Plymouth
Routes indicate search for site.

As the weather was very cold, the Pilgrims built but a single house at first, and in this the great family gathered, and waited for the spring. The Indians were not troublesome, though they were often seen prowling among the trees of the forest. One day in the spring the colonists were surprised by the sight of an Indian warrior, who walked boldly into the little village, and in English welcomed the "palefaces" to his country. It was afterward found that he had learned his few English words from some fishermen.

The colonists treated him kindly. Not long after this he came

again, bringing Massasoit, the chief of a neighboring tribe, with a group of his painted and feathered braves. Captain Standish, who was the military leader of the Pilgrims, led the Indians with great honor into the village, where the governor came to meet them. Massasoit agreed that there should be peace between the

Landing of the Pilgrims

redskins of his tribe and the palefaces. This agreement was faithfully kept for more than fifty years.

But while the Indians did not trouble the settlement, there were other enemies, grimmer and more awful than they. Disease and death went hand in hand among the settlers. By spring half the company were dead, and almost all the others sick. At one time there were but seven well enough to take care of the sufferers.

But with the beautiful spring came renewed courage. Fields were planted with corn, houses were begun, a fort was built.

Fish and game were brought in from the streams and woods. By autumn seven houses were finished, and others begun. The

Captain Miles Standish and his Soldiers

harvesting of the corn showed a good crop. The people of the little colony felt that they had many things to be thankful for.

**Pilgrims going to Church
From Boughton's painting.**

The governor appointed a day in November to be set apart as a Thanksgiving Day.

This was but lately over when a ship was sighted in the harbor. This proved to be the *Fortune*, bringing about fifty more of the Pilgrims to join the company. Families were reunited; friends and neighbors who had been parted met once more. There were sad hours spent in talking of those who had been laid to rest in the little burying ground on the hill. For fear that the Indians might grow bold when they saw how many graves were there, wheat had been sown above the little mounds, and many a tear was shed as eyes were turned toward that field of waving grain. But with courage and trust in God, they again faced a cold winter. For two years the struggle was an anxious one. The little colony grew slowly, but still it did grow. Often discouraged, but never willing to give up, the brave men and women toiled and endured, until there was no longer any doubt that Plymouth would succeed.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. Many people of England wanted to "purify" the Church of England. These people were called Puritans.
2. Among the Puritans some people wished to leave the church altogether and make a new church of their own. They were called Separatists.
3. A company of Separatists left England, and after living in Holland for eleven years, came to America. They are known as the Pilgrims.
4. In spite of many hardships, their settlement at Plymouth, begun in 1620, grew and prospered.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Pilgrims and Puritans," Tiffany, pp. 20-91.
2. "Pilgrims in Their Three Homes," Griffis, pp. 84-96, 117-132, 150-160; also Chapters XVII, XX, XXI, XXII.
3. "Stories of the Old Bay State," Brooks, pp. 9-81.
4. "Colonial Massachusetts," Dawes, pp. 13-22.
5. "American Hero Stories," Tappan, pp. 59-72.

6. "Standish of Standish," Jane Austin.
7. "Soldier Rigdale," Beulah Marie Dix.
8. "The Making of New England," S. A. Drake, pp. 67-148.
9. "Colonial Children," Hart, pp. 25-30; 57-63; 133-136; 152-155.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the exact meaning of *prosperous*, *congregation*, *volunteered*.
2. Make a list of things we all have in our homes that the Pilgrims never heard of.
3. Think of words you might use to describe the Pilgrims. Be able to show why you think the words you choose really describe them. If you say "the Pilgrims were brave," prove to the class that they were.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Obtain and mount in your notebook pictures relating to Plymouth and the Pilgrims.

2. Plymouth.

It was settled in _____. The people who made the settlement are called _____. They came to America to make new homes where they might _____. They were _____ in their religion. Their homes had been in _____. They were _____ people, _____ and _____ in doing their duty.

3. Write about "The *Mayflower*." Tell what the *Mayflower* was; about one voyage that she made; about the people who were on board of her; where they were going; what they intended to do there; about the end of the voyage; the landing; the new home; what kept the people from giving up when their life was hard.

XII

THE DUTCH COLONY OF NEW NETHERLAND

IN 1609, while the English at Jamestown and the French at Quebec were struggling with the great questions of life in the wilderness, a new nation was entering the field of American colonization. This was Holland, and we must go back to Europe to know how and why the Dutch people first came to our shores.

We know what kind of country Holland is now. It was the same then, with its low, marshy land, from which the ocean was kept out only by walls of earth and stone, with its canals and its windmills, its fine cattle, and its plentiful crops.

Scene in Holland

Notice the high-roofed houses, the canal, canal boats, and windmills.

We know from the story of the Pilgrims that no one in Hol-

land was persecuted because of his religion; and we know that the Dutch people fought hard to win their independence from Spain. But perhaps we do not know that the Dutch were the greatest traders of their time. The position of their country, midway between the northern and the southern countries of Europe, made it a natural center of trade for these nations. Silks, spices, India shawls, — all the products

of the East, — came to Holland, and were there exchanged for goods sent from the North.

It was during their war with Spain that the Dutch began to go themselves to the East Indies. From the time when Portuguese ships were the first to sail around the Cape of Good Hope, trade with the East had always remained in Portuguese hands. Their ships brought the goods to Lisbon. There they were reloaded on Dutch ships and carried to Holland. But Portugal became a part of Spain, and the Dutch, who were at war with Spain, could no longer go to Lisbon to obtain goods. What next? Why, to the Indies, of course.

The very thing that cut off Dutch trade from Lisbon opened to Dutch trade the door to the rich islands of the East. The Portuguese islands of Java, Sumatra, and the Molucca Islands, were Portuguese no longer. They belonged to Spain, and Holland need wait only until she was strong enough to attack them before making them her own. Nor had she long to wait.

You remember that England was helping the Dutch in their struggle for independence, and you remember that with the glorious day in 1588 on which the "Invincible Armada" of Spain was defeated, Spain's power on the sea was broken forever.

Scarcely had the smoke of battle cleared away before the business-like Dutchmen were laying their plans for conquering the East, and it was only a few years before their plans were carried out. By 1607 they were in possession of the islands that had been owned by the Portuguese. Tea and coffee were introduced into Europe, and Dutch merchants grew rich from their sale.

"A short route to the Indies!" became the cry of Dutch navigators, as it had been the cry of Portuguese and Spaniards in Columbus's time. The Dutch East India Company, which had been formed by men interested in Eastern commerce, resolved to send out a ship to look for a northeast passage around the coast of Russia. Henry Hudson, an Englishman, was asked to take charge of this ship.

Hudson sent
to find north-
east passage,
1609

He set out in 1609 with but one small vessel, called the *Half Moon*. Although he first turned toward the North Cape, it was not long before he was sailing along the coast of Maine, then down to the Chesapeake, then back to New York Bay. After trading

with the Indians, whom he found most friendly, he entered the mouth of the river that was afterward named for him. He thought it might be a strait through to the ocean beyond.

It is Hudson who has given us our first descriptions of this

The Hudson beauti-
River found, ful river;
1609 the Pali-

sades, a high wall of rock along the western shore, the Catskills farther up, the woodlands, the broad stream itself, have charmed many a visitor since the day of the *Half Moon*,

The *Half Moon* in the Highlands

but Hudson and his men were the first to tell us of them.

Up the stream, almost as far as the place where Albany now stands, the good ship drifted with the tide, or sailed in the occasional puffs of wind from the mountainous shore. They stopped now and then to trade with the Indians, who, when friendly,

would exchange otter and beaver skins for trifles. At other times the sailors were kept busy making the guns of the old ship ring out in answer to twanging arrows from some hidden enemy on the shore.

At last they turned back, and sailed down again to the mouth of the river, then out on the broad Atlantic, then back to Hol-

The Palatodes

land. There the sailors told their story of purple mountains crowned with the glowing lights of the setting sun, of the great river which flowed down between the mountains to the sea, of a harbor shut in from the wild ocean on every side, and bordered by pleasant meadows and flowery fields.

"All very good!" said the business-like Dutchmen, "but what about the passage to India?" Alas! they had found none. Perhaps it was then that the sailors brought forth the furs they

had obtained from the Indians, to show that the voyage had not been all in vain. The East India Company was disappointed. Hudson had disobeyed orders. He had not found the northeast passage he had been sent to find. So they went on with their trade in the East, and paid no further attention to the beautiful river or the island at its mouth.

It was the cargo of furs brought from America by Hudson's men that led to its settlement by the Dutch. There were merchants in Holland who were interested in these furs, if the East India Company was not, and who sent out ships to "Hudson's River" to obtain more skins. By 1613 there were four rude huts on Manhattan Island for the use of these traders, and during the next few years the fur trade grew rapidly. An old fort built by French explorers on the bank of the river where Albany now stands was repaired, and bargains were made with the Indians, muskets and ammunition being exchanged for skins. Still there was no permanent settlement.

In 1621 it was decided to organize another trading company in Holland, to be called the Dutch West India Company, and in 1623, three years after the Pilgrims reached Plymouth, a shipload of colonists sent out by this company landed at Manhattan.

The party was divided: some were landed on the island; some were carried up the river to the old fort; some went to the Connecticut, where Hartford now stands; others settled on the western end of Long Island, close to Manhattan; still another party set out for the Delaware River. The fur trade flourished, and the company's boats sailed all along the neighboring shores, obtaining skins from the Indians. But the colony grew very slowly. The traders came and went, but not many homes were made in New Netherland, as the colony was called. The members of the West India Company shook their heads solemnly over the question of getting farmers to go to New

Netherland. In 1629 they tried a new plan. The company offered to give a great estate on the river to any one who would induce fifty grown people to go with him to the colony and live on the estate. The owners of these great estates were called "patroons," and had much power over the colonists they brought to the colony. These people were to till the patroon's land.

New Amsterdam

They were forbidden to move from one estate to another or from the country to the town at Manhattan for ten years. In this way it was hoped that the country might be made into farms.

The government of the colony was not like that of Plymouth, where the colonists had their town meeting in which laws were made. Nor was it like that of Virginia, where the Government of New Netherland planters elected men to represent them in the House of Burgesses. There was no self-government in the Dutch colony at New Netherland. A governor appointed by the

West India Company in Holland had full control of the colony, although the patroons had many privileges.

The town that grew up on the island of Manhattan was called New Amsterdam, in honor of the home city in Holland. It soon grew to look like a Dutch town, with its houses of many-colored brick, with steep roofs and tiny windows. We hear no stories of suffering from hunger here. The soil was fertile, and great crops of grain were raised, as well as

vegetables and fruit in abundance. The Dutchmen were fond of good things to eat, and the women were famous cooks.

After a hearty meal, the families might be seen sitting on the "stoop," or front doorsteps, the goodman peacefully smoking his long Dutch pipe, while the women gossiped together, and the children played

Family Life in New Netherland
From an old woodcut.

about. Even the clothes of these settlers were of bright colors, very different from the plain, sober garments of the Pilgrims in their Plymouth homes.

Peaceful, happy lives were led in old New Amsterdam, but there was trouble brewing for the colony, nevertheless. The English had always felt that the Dutch had no right to settle on the land claimed by England. And several times the Dutch had been reminded that they were on forbidden ground. In 1636 the English who came to settle on the Connecticut drove the

Dutch away from their fort there. Then came English settlements on the eastern end of Long Island, and frequent quarrels between their people and the Dutch at Brooklyn.

At last the English king determined to surprise the Dutch colony at New Amsterdam and take possession of it. A fleet was prepared, and in 1664 it set out across the Atlantic. **England seizes New Netherland, 1664**
The eye of Holland was upon him, so King Charles had a good deal to say about his unruly colonies in New England. He was sending out a fleet to inquire into matters. And sure enough it was to Boston that the ships sailed. Old Peter Stuyvesant, who was then the governor of New Netherland, began to breathe easily again. He sent away the warships he had been keeping in the harbor ever since he had heard of the English fleet upon the sea; it was all right. The English ships were in Boston harbor. They had been there for a month.

But what are those strange ships sailing so proudly up the bay? What flag is that which floats upon the breeze? Spy-glasses are leveled; the old governor stalks about on his wooden leg, crying that the English shall never take the town. But the people know it is useless to fight, and they beg the old man to give up the town without bloodshed, since they must give it up at last.

Finally he consents, sorrowfully saying, "Well, let it be so. I would rather be carried to my grave." The fleet, which has waited in the harbor, now sails up by the town. A white flag flutters above the fort. Dutch rule is over. Without the shedding of a drop of blood, New Amsterdam has perished. New York has taken its place.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. Dutch traders carried on much of the trade with the East Indies.
2. In 1609 the Dutch East India Company sent Henry Hudson to look for a short route to the Indies. He was told to look for a northeast passage around the coast of Russia.

3. Hudson could find no northeast passage. He turned his ship to the west, reached the coast of America, and discovered the Hudson River. The East India Company was disappointed, and paid no attention to the river he had discovered.

4. The Dutch West India Company was formed in 1621 by merchants who wished to enter the fur trade. They sent ships to "Hudson's River" to get furs.

5. A settlement was made on Manhattan Island in 1623. It was called New Amsterdam. The colony grew slowly. It had no self-government. It was ruled by a governor appointed by the company.

6. The English and the Dutch both claimed the land where the Dutch had settled. The English seized the town in 1664. They changed its name to New York.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Book of American Explorers," Higginson, pp. 281-307.
2. "The Land of Pluck," Dodge.
3. "Brave Little Holland," Griffis.
4. "Indians and Pioneers," Hazard and Dutton, pp. 230-250.
5. "The Colonies," Smith and Dutton, pp. 111-219.
6. "American Hero Stories," Eva M. Tappan, pp. 73-83.
7. "Peeps at Many Lands — Holland," Jungmann.
8. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 131-140.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the exact meaning of *colonization*, *persecuted*, *products*, *introduced*, *elected*, *represent*, *permanent*, *estate*.

2. Study the picture of "The *Half Moon* in the Highlands." You will find much to interest you; study also the old Dutch town shown in the picture of New Amsterdam.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Make a map showing the Dutch colony of New Netherland, the Hudson River, Manhattan Island, New Amsterdam.

2. Write about Henry Hudson: tell for whom he was sailing; what he was sent out to find; where he was to look for it; where he went; what he saw; what the Dutch East India Company thought of his voyage.

3. New Amsterdam.

Write all you can about the old city: how it looked; its people; how they lived; what became of the Dutch city; what is there to-day.

XIII

MASSACHUSETTS BAY — RHODE ISLAND — CONNECTICUT

Soon after Plymouth was founded, we hear of little settlements dotted along the coast of New England, made up mostly of fishermen. In 1628 the first settlement of the Massachusetts Bay colony was made. There were by this time many Puritans in England, and because of their religion, and their belief that the people of a country should help to rule it, they were not at all in favor with the king. The Puritans began to be afraid that the time might come when England would no longer be a safe place for them to live, and they resolved to start a Puritan colony in America. The Massachusetts Bay Company was organized, a grant of land and a charter obtained from the king, and the first settlement made at Salem. In 1629 Salem, only a year old, was larger than Plymouth. In 1630 more than a thousand Puritans came to the colony, among them the governor, John Winthrop, and the members of the Massachusetts Bay Company themselves, with their precious charter. Boston, Charlestown, and neighboring towns were settled. The colony became so large that it was found impossible for all the men to meet together to make the laws; so the plan of electing men to represent each town was adopted. This assembly was somewhat like the Virginia House

The Puritan
Statue by J. Q. A. Ward.

of Burgesses. It was called the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

The colony was almost from the first strong and sturdy, with good farms and busy traders. There were many churches, with ministers who preached the Puritan doctrines. There were also many educated men. In 1636 a college was established. It became known as Harvard College, and is to-day famous everywhere in America as the first college established in the country.

Roger Williams's Church, Salem

You will be surprised to learn that these Puritans, who had left England because they wished to think for themselves about religious matters, should not have been willing for others to think as they chose, but they were not. One of their own ministers, Roger Williams, was ordered to leave the colony because he differed from the other ministers and the town officers in his opinions. The town officers even planned to send him to England, but he left his home very hurriedly, before the officers coming to arrest him reached it. After spending the winter with the Indians, with

Rhode Island
founded by
Roger Wil-
liams

whom he was a favorite, he set out with a few friends to make a settlement outside the limits of the Massachusetts colony. They decided upon a place on the shore of Narragansett Bay, and when the little settlement was begun, Williams named it Providence, because God had provided a home for him.

Only a short time after this, another person was ordered to leave Massachusetts because of religious beliefs. This time it

Roger Williams among the Indians

was a woman, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. With a few followers she settled on an island not far from Providence. These two settlements were afterward united into the colony of Rhode Island.

This is the story of the principal colonies of New England. But there were new towns springing up all the time. New Hampshire had been first settled as early as 1623. In 1636 a company of people from Massachusetts walked through the wilderness to

the Connecticut River, where they made new homes. By 1637, eight hundred people were settled in the towns of Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor. New England was fast growing into importance.

THINGS TO REMEM- BER

1. In 1630 many Puritans left England and settled the towns of Boston, Salem, Charlestown, and others near.

2. This Puritan colony was called the Massachusetts Bay Colony. It grew very rapidly.

Leading Towns in New England in the Seventeenth Century

Williams live among them because of his religious beliefs. For the same reason they obliged Mrs. Anne Hutchinson to leave the colony.

4. In the spring of 1636, Williams, with a few friends, began a settlement on the shore of Narragansett Bay. They called it Providence. People of any religion were welcome there.

5. Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers settled not far from Providence. These two settlements were afterward joined into the colony of Rhode Island.

6. Puritans from Massachusetts settled Hartford and neighboring towns in 1636.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Indians and Pioneers," Hazard and Dutton, pp. 194-229.
- *2. "The Colonies," Smith and Dutton, pp. 263-327.
3. "Colonial Massachusetts," Dawes, pp. 23-32.
- *4. "Pilgrims and Puritans," Tiffany, pp. 92-152.
5. "American Pioneers," Mowry, pp. 47-57.
6. "The Making of New England," Drake, pp. 104-141, 149-199, 214-243.

7. "A Book of American Explorers," Higginson, pp. 341-361.
8. "Old Times in the Colonies," Coffin, pp. 152-176, 187-190.
9. "Colonial Life in New Hampshire," Fassett.
10. "Colonial Children," Hart, pp. 136-142; 152-155; 177-188; 192-196; 206-210.

THINGS TO DO

Discuss in class with your teacher the following question: "Why would it be impossible to-day for the officers of any town to compel a person to leave the town because of his religious belief?"

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Make a list of the English settlements in America, using form below:

ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS	DATE	BY WHOM MADE	LEADING MEN

2. Make a map to accompany the above list.
3. Write about the Massachusetts Bay colony: tell by whom the colony was begun — when and where the first settlements were made; the most important town of the colony, and anything of interest you know about it.

XIV

MARYLAND, DELAWARE, NEW JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA

It was not long before there were new colonies established near Virginia, as there had been new ones begun in New England near Plymouth. In 1629, Lord Baltimore, one of the members of the London Company which had colonized Virginia, decided to establish a colony of his own. He was a Roman Catholic, and wished to make his colony a refuge for men of his faith, since they were as much disliked in England at this time as Puritans and Separatists were. In 1629 he obtained from the king a grant of land, which he named Maryland in honor of the queen, Henrietta Maria.

The first settlement was made at St. Mary's in 1634, and since people of all religions were welcomed, many settlers came, and the colony grew rapidly. Freedom in religious matters, such as Lord Baltimore offered, was rare enough in those days to attract many settlers. In their way of living the people of Maryland came to be much like the people of Virginia, living on large plantations, raising great quantities of tobacco, and keeping many slaves.

The government of the colony was entirely in the hands of Lord Baltimore, and when he died, the power was to pass on to his son, just as it does in a kingdom when the king dies. Indeed, Maryland was much like a little kingdom, with Lord Baltimore as its ruler. He was given the right to coin money, to appoint judges, and to regulate all the affairs of the colony.

It was not long before other settlements were made along the coast. Delaware was settled in 1638 by the Swedes. Their colony was soon conquered by the Dutch, and became a part of

New Netherland. In 1653 came the beginning of the settlement of "the Carolinas," and in 1663 a charter was obtained for these settlements. These came to have a sturdy population, made up of people of many religions and from many lands, — Huguenots, Scotch and Irish, Germans and Dutch.

The next year, 1664, marks the beginning of New Jersey; and in 1681 Pennsylvania was settled. This colony grew to be one of the most important of them all, so we must turn our attention to England once more to find how the settlement came to be made.

Of all the forms of religion that had sprung up during the seventeenth century, it is safe to say that the belief of the people called Quakers was hated the most. Their own name for themselves was "Friends," and they believed many things that shocked the people of that day. They thought that all men were equal in the sight of God. They would not take off their hats even in the presence of the king, believing kings to be no better than other people.

They believed that each man must answer to God for his sins, so they wished to do away with priests and ministers. Any one could preach, they said, if the spirit of God moved him to do so. Because they read in the Bible, "Thou shalt not kill," they refused to fight in time of war. They were often arrested and sent to jail for teaching their beliefs. Still they went on teaching, because they thought it their duty to spread their ideas everywhere.

Among the Quakers in England was a man named William Penn, who was devoted to the Quaker faith. His father had left him a great fortune, and he determined to use his wealth to found a colony in America,

The Quakers

Typical Quaker

William

Penn's

colony

where Quakers could come and lead quiet lives. It was easy for Penn to obtain a grant of land, as the king and the Duke of York, the king's brother, had been friends of Penn's father. Not only this, but the king owed Penn a large amount of money. A grant of land in payment of the debt would be easy for the king to give, and was just what Penn wanted. So William Penn was made proprietor of a large piece of land in America between the

Delaware River and the Maryland colony. His charter was somewhat like that of Lord Baltimore, though not quite so many powers were given to him. He wished to call his colony "Sylvania," which means woodland, but the king insisted on using Penn's name too, in honor of his father, so the colony was called Pennsylvania, as the state is to-day.

The first settlement was made in 1681, many years, you see, after the settlement of the other colonies we have studied. But it did not take long for Pennsylvania to grow.

William Penn

Before many years had passed it stood third among the colonies in the number of its people, only Massachusetts and Virginia being larger.

The freedom in religious matters in Penn's colony, as well as his plan of selling small farms to colonists at a low price, helped to draw people there. Many came from Germany. Many came also from Scotland and Ireland. In 1683 the city of Philadelphia was laid out, and it has been said that the streets were straighter and the land more level than in any city the New World had yet

seen. Trees were planted along the streets, and before the end of the year there were three hundred dwellings in the new city. Penn was very wise in dealing with the Indians. He made a treaty with them that was not broken for more than sixty years.

In 1732, fifty-one years after the founding of Pennsylvania, the thirteenth colony on the Georgia settled Atlantic coast was char-

tered. It was named Georgia in honor of George II, who was then king of England. General James Oglethorpe, an English soldier, was at the head of the movement. He

General Oglethorpe

planned the colony as a new home for poor people, where they might lead happier lives than they could in England. The settlement was also intended to serve as a military outpost, whose

people would keep back the Indians and the Spanish settlers of Florida, who had been troubling the colonists of South Carolina.

The first settlement of Georgia was on the Savannah River, and the name of the river was given to the town. At first Oglethorpe would not let the colonists have any slaves, nor would he allow any alcoholic liquors in the settlement. The people of the colony did not like either of these laws, and after a while they succeeded in having their own way about the matter. After this the people were more contented, and the colony flourished.

When it was twenty years old, the proprietors — that is, Oglethorpe and his friends — gave up to the king their right of governing the colony. It thus became a royal province.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. Lord Baltimore, an English Catholic, obtained a grant of land just north of Virginia, on which in 1634 the first settlement of the colony of Maryland was made.

2. In Maryland people of all religions were welcome.

3. Delaware, North and South Carolina, and New Jersey were settled within a few years.

4. William Penn, one of a religious sect called Quakers, founded a colony in America. It was called Pennsylvania, and was on the Delaware River.

5. Pennsylvania was settled in 1681. Philadelphia was founded two years later. The colony grew very fast.

6. Georgia was settled about fifty years after Pennsylvania was founded.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Indians and Pioneers," Hazard and Dutton, pp. 252-262.

2. "The Colonies," Smith and Dutton, pp. 233-262.

3. "The Making of Virginia," Drake, pp. 66-85, 169-216.

4. "Stories of Pennsylvania," Walton and Brumbaugh.

5. "Stories of New Jersey," Stockton.

6. "Stories of Georgia," Harris.

7. "Palmetto Stories," Means, pp. 1-103.

8. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 75-97; 146-159.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the exact meaning of *regulate*, *proprietor*, *alcoholic*.
2. Write the names of the "thirteen original colonies." Learn the list. Tell how each of the thirteen obtained its name.
3. For your notebook.
 - (1) Add to your list of the English settlements in America.
 - (2) Make a map to accompany the above list.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Copy the following dates, writing after each the event which makes the date important: 1000, 1453, 1492, 1513, 1607, 1608, 1620, 1623, 1681, 1732.
2. Copy the following names, writing after each some fact which makes the person famous: Leif Ericsson, Henry the Navigator, Christopher Columbus, Americus Vesputius, Ferdinand Magellan, Balboa, Hernando De Soto, Jacques Cartier, Samuel de Champlain, John Smith, William Bradford, John Winthrop, Peter Stuyvesant, Lord Baltimore, William Penn, Roger Williams, James Oglethorpe.

XV

INDIAN TROUBLES IN NEW ENGLAND

“WERE the Indians always friendly?” you ask. “And are the stories we have heard about them and their attacks upon the colonists not true at all?”

No, the Indians were not always friendly, and they did many dreadful deeds. Most of the Indians among whom the colonists **Indian tribes** made their homes belonged to one of two great families — the Algonquins and the Iroquois. The map will show you where they lived, and the most important of the tribes belonging to each family. The Iroquois, made up of six allied tribes, were known as the “Six Nations.” They had large villages and cornfields. They were skillful in the hunt and powerful in war. We are told that they were the terror of their Algonquin neighbors. The Algonquins were less fierce than the Iroquois, but, like them, were cruel and often treacherous. In New England the colonists were not disturbed for a long time, but the trouble came at last.

The Pequots, a very fierce and powerful tribe, lived in the eastern part of Connecticut. They made many of the neighboring tribes pay tribute to them, and were hated **The Pequots** and feared by all the other Indians of New England. Several white men had been murdered by these Indians, when the governor of Massachusetts decided that it was time to put an end to such things. He sent three vessels around the coast to Connecticut to punish the offenders. The Pequots were ordered to give up the murderers, but they refused. The English killed about twenty of them, and set fire to their homes.

We know enough of Indians to know how they would be likely



to act after this. The people of the little towns which had lately been settled on the Connecticut spent their first winter in a state of constant alarm. Men were killed on their way to work. One man was captured and burned alive. The Indians grew bolder every day. The Pequots tried to induce the Narragansetts to

Indians setting Fire to a House at Brookfield
From an old print.

join them, but Roger Williams persuaded them to help the English instead.

There was to be war, and the poor little towns on the Connecticut, being nearest to the Indians, seemed likely to get the worst of it. They appealed to Massachusetts and Plymouth for aid, and a small force of men started out to attack the Pequots.

On a moonlight night in May, 1637, the English landed near the Pequot stronghold, and so well did they do their work, that in less than an hour only five Indians were left alive of the several hundred in the fort. The Pequot tribe was gone, crushed out in

a single night. It was an awful act, but it was necessary to make the Connecticut Valley a safe place for the settlers there. This victory made the Indians fear the English, so that it was thirty-eight years before they dared attack them again.

Pequot Fort

Then, in 1675, began what is known as King Philip's War. Philip was the son of Massasoit, and since the death of his father, he had become chief of the tribe. He is said to have suspected the white men of poisoning his brother. Because of this, he plotted for years to have revenge. Thirteen years passed after Philip became chief before he was ready to carry out his plans. Just what these plans were we shall probably never know, nor just how many Indians Philip had interested in them. The Indians everywhere were getting

tired of the white men, who were every day coming to hold more and more of the land that had once belonged to the Indians alone. They did not like the way in which the white people watched them, nor did they like being sent for to come to the towns whenever they were suspected of any wrong. Most of the tribes were glad enough to join Philip in his plan to get rid of the whites.

At last the awful struggle began, at the little village of Swansey, in Massachusetts, not far from Philip's home. The people were murdered, and their houses burned by the savages. This



New England Blockhouse

was the first of a long list of such deeds. In the Connecticut Valley town after town was destroyed, and men, women, and children were murdered or carried off as captives. It began to look as if New England would be a wilderness again before this awful war was over.

The Narragansetts, who had at first been friendly to the English, were no longer so. They sheltered Philip's wounded warriors, and seemed to be waiting only for the spring to make war for themselves. A thousand white men were gathered to attack them, and there was another dreadful scene like that at the Pequot fort. The Narragansetts were thus subdued; the rest of the Indians were more wary, and kept out of the way of their

English pursuers. But their murderous work went on. Still, a little at a time, the English gained, and at last Philip was captured and killed. This did not end the war at once, but by 1678 it was all over, and peace reigned once more in New England.

It had been a terrible time to pass through. Twelve towns had been entirely destroyed, and more than forty had been attacked. A great war debt was to be paid, but New England was free from Indian attacks. The danger from the fierce red man was gone forever.

We must not at once without thought condemn the Indians for these attacks on the white men. Was the fault all theirs? For thousands of years the red man had wandered in the forests, free as the birds in the trees overhead, or the wolves prowling through the crackling underbrush. Was it not all his, this beautiful land of green woods and golden sunlight, with rustling, leafy roof and babbling brook and silent river? Were not the meadows and the green hillsides his home, the forests his hunting ground, the streams his, and the mountains, and the lakes? Why should he be driven back year by year, giving up all these to the strange white men from over seas?

At first it was only along the shore of the Great Water, and the Indian accepted his new neighbors and did them no harm. But the white men were never satisfied. Year by year, almost day by day, they moved farther into the forests, frightening away the red man's deer, cutting down the red man's trees, and building their ugly wooden houses where the Indian for centuries had pitched his tent of skins. Why should not the red man fight to preserve his home and his ancient freedom?

Shall we, then, after thinking of these things, say that the fault was with the white men, after all? Not yet; we must look at their side too. Here was a great country, how great no one at that time knew. Here were fertile valleys, wooded hillsides, rivers, harbors, — and all unoccupied save for a few wandering tribes of red men. Should these savages be allowed to stand in

the way of the march of progress, of civilization? What could the Indian do to develop the resources of a great country? Must he not step aside, then, and leave the work to those who were better fitted for it? These are questions that have puzzled older heads than yours, and whatever we may think about them, we cannot decide how they should be answered. And whether we believe that the Indians or the white men had the right of the question, we must all see that the struggle between them had to come; and coming, it could end only as it did — in the final victory of the whites.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The people of these early colonies sometimes had great trouble with the Indians.
2. The Pequot Indians molested the whites, and in 1637 the white men attacked a Pequot fort, and killed almost the whole tribe.
3. In 1675 occurred King Philip's War. The colonists finally conquered, and the Indians made no more serious trouble in New England.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Colonial Massachusetts," Dawes, pp. 80-87.
2. "The Colonies," Smith and Dutton, pp. 328-343.
3. "Four American Indians," Whitney and Perry, pp. 9-50.
4. "Stories of the Old Bay State," Brooks, pp. 82-91.
5. "The Young Puritans of Old Hadley," and "The Young Puritans in King Philip's War," Smith.
6. "How Our Grandfathers Lived," Hart, pp. 173-215.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the exact meaning of *preserve, ancient, fertile, progress, civilization, develop, resources*.
2. Find out whether there were ever any Indians near where you live. If there is a museum in your town, look for Indian arrowheads and other weapons.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

Write the story of an Indian attack on some New England village. Your reading will give you the material for your story. Make the story as real as you can.

PART II

THE BIRTH OF THE NATION

PART II
THE BIRTH OF THE NATION
1689-1789

PERIODS

- I. THE CONDITIONS IN AMERICA NEAR THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.**
- II. THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN THE NEW WORLD, 1689-1763.**
- III. THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE, 1761-1783.**
- IV. THE CRITICAL PERIOD OF AMERICAN HISTORY, 1783-1789.**

PART II

THE BIRTH OF THE NATION

I

FOREWORD

Two centuries had now passed since Columbus caught his first glimpse of the New World. It was no longer a world unknown to the people of Europe; no longer a world inhabited only by roving tribes of red men. The whole eastern slope of North America, from the St. Lawrence to Florida, was occupied by the white men who had come from Europe. We might have heard Spanish in Florida, French on the shores of the St. Lawrence and the mighty Mississippi. We might have heard Dutch and German and Swedish in the settlements along the Atlantic shore. But it was England that owned that shore. It was a good thing for England when she obtained New York from the Dutch. There, in the middle of that eastern shore, New York made a link in the chain of England's possessions, where New Amsterdam would have served only to cut that chain in two.

We must remember that, in spite of two centuries of colony making, a large part of the New World was still unsettled and even unknown. Few if any of the English settlers had passed beyond the natural wall formed by the Allegheny Mountains. The English territory was but a narrow strip of land along the Atlantic coast. The French, as we have already learned, were few in number compared with the English, and though they claimed most of the interior of the continent, had made few settlements except on the St. Lawrence. The Spanish, led by the hope of finding gold and treasure, had failed again and again, and had only St. Augustine and Santa Fé to show for all their labor in North America.



Resource Map

A struggle for the continent was at hand, and in this struggle the English and the French were to be the chief actors. It is in them, therefore, and the part of the continent they had settled, that we are at present most interested.

We know, or we think we know, our country so well — we are so accustomed to thinking of its wonderful resources, its wealth, and its suitability for many and varied industries — that it is a little hard for us to see it with the eyes of the early settlers. Much of the continent, as we have already said, was unknown to them; but they had seen enough to realize that here were opportunities for enterprising men to find wealth in the wilderness.

Natural re-
sources of
North
America



Corn

First of all, in size — as the size of North America began to be realized vaguely by the people — it was truly a great land. Here was territory in which France, or Germany, or any country of Europe might be almost lost. And because of its size, here were climates to suit the tastes of the most diverse of people: Canada, cold and snowy, yet abounding in wealth for the hardy fortune seeker; Georgia and Florida, sunny, almost tropical, and presenting attractions to those who loved an easier life; between, all the varying degrees of heat and cold found in a temperate clime.



Rice

And again, as the climate varied, there varied too the products of this wonderful New World. There were furs in Canada, cotton in the South, tobacco and Indian corn in the middle portion, with great forests of valuable timber almost everywhere. Nor were these all. There were great tracts of rich land, — fertile river valleys, — where the crops of Europe might be taught to flourish; mile after mile of grassy prairie, where the

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cattle of the Old World might be brought to roam; mountains with the wealth of mines concealed beneath their rugged sides. And still these were not all. There were thousands of little streams which could be harnessed to the mill wheel; there were quarries of granite, slate, and marble, as yet untouched by

Forest showing Trees Valuable for Timber

human hands; there were millions of fish swarming in the rivers and the sea.

There were all these, and more, that the colonists had never seen nor even imagined. To-day we know something of the possibilities of our land, and it may be that even we have more to learn. That it was a good land, and that it might become the seat of a great nation, could be seen even two hundred years ago.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. France and England alone of European nations gained a real foothold in America. A struggle for possession of the continent was sure to come between them.
2. The continent covered a great stretch of territory, and possessed varied and valuable productions.

THINGS TO READ

1. Consult your geography for information as to the physical features of North America. Read what is said of the climate and productions under each group of states, and under Canada.

THINGS TO DO

1. Make a list of the natural products of the country known and used to-day.
2. Look up pictures illustrating the industries of the country at the present time. These may be mounted to form a very interesting class collection.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Copy the production map.
2. Make a diagram showing the comparative size of North America and Europe; of Canada (present territory) and France; of the United States and England; of Mexico and Spain.

CONDITIONS IN EUROPE AND AMERICA

II

ENGLISH COLONIES AND COLONISTS

By the end of the second century after the New World was discovered, all of the "thirteen original colonies" except Georgia had been settled. Virginia, the oldest of them, was not far from her hundredth birthday; and Massachusetts, New York, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island were not many years behind. Pennsylvania, although the youngest of the twelve, had grown so rapidly as to be larger than many of the older colonies.

There were about two hundred thousand people in the English settlements. Year by year the settlers were pushing westward, until the mountain wall was almost reached. The years had been years of progress in all the colonies. In spite of differing ideas and beliefs, the colonists were becoming more like one another, and more unlike the people of the countries from which they had come. Their life in America, making new homes, and fighting the dangers of the wilderness, did much to make the settlers self-reliant; and this self-reliance served to increase the spirit of independence in political affairs for which Englishmen at home and abroad have ever been noted.

There were three kinds of government in the colonies. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut had charters. Virginia, once a chartered colony also, since 1624 had been a royal province. Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania were still under the rule of proprietors, the heirs of those to whom the land had been originally granted.

The rest of the twelve, though they had been at first proprietary, had become, like Virginia, royal provinces. This means that their governors were appointed by the king. In the chartered colonies the governors were usually elected by the people. In the proprietary colonies they were appointed by the proprietors.

In each of the colonies there was an "assembly" of the people, which made laws and managed the money affairs of the colony. There were many struggles between the assemblies and the royal governors. If the governor opposed the will of the people, he was sometimes brought to terms by refusing him necessary grants of money, or perhaps even his salary.

Some of these quarrels were long and bitter. Such was that between Governor Berkeley of Virginia and the people of the colony. The governor's rule was harsh, but a House of Burgesses friendly to him made him

Bacon demanding from Berkeley Permission to fight
against the Indians
From a painting by Kelley.

quite secure in his position, and for many years the people could only suffer. At last, however, in 1676, many of the people, under the leadership of Nathaniel Bacon, rose against the governor, and what is known as "Bacon's Rebellion"

followed. There were exciting times in Virginia during the few months that the uprising lasted, but Bacon died, and the governor and his friends triumphed. But though the attempt had been a failure, the spirit of resistance to oppression was born in the hearts of the men of Virginia.

Another royal governor who came into conflict with the people under his rule was Sir Edmund Andros, sent by King James II

to become governor of Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Hampshire, and Maine. Later Rhode Island and Connecticut, New York and New Jersey, were put under his care also. Andros made his headquarters in Boston, and sent Francis Nicholson to rule for him in New York. There was soon trouble for both Nichol-

son and Andros. They carried out most faithfully the king's orders to disregard the people's assemblies, and the people hated them accordingly. In New York a German named Leisler placed himself at the head of the militia, and forced Nicholson to leave the town. Leisler then made

Sir Edmund Andros

himself governor. For two years he remained in power, but when a governor appointed by the new king arrived, Leisler was seized and hanged for treason. Meanwhile Andros himself had been seized by the people of Boston, and after being imprisoned for some time, had been sent to England. Thus we see the spirit of resistance to oppression again asserting itself in the English colonies. It is a spirit of which we shall see more hereafter.

There were other traits in these early Americans which were as strong, and which affected their later history as much, as their love of self-government. They were a sturdy people, slow to change their ways of life; content to reach the goal of their am-

bitious step by step; extending their territory only as it became necessary to make room for the settlers; not dreaming of a great empire, but intent upon making homes.

These homes — nestled among the rugged hills of New England, along the shores of the Hudson and the Delaware, or surrounded

A Colonial Farmhouse

by the widespread tobacco fields of the South — these explain to us the wonderful vitality of the English settlements. *Life in the* The old homesteads of New England became centers *English* of life, centers of industry, centers of training. The *Colonies* children, and the children's children settling near, made large and thriving communities of the little towns. The green valleys became fields of waving corn. The wooded hillsides rang with the sound of the woodman's ax. The waters of the harbors reflected the masts of gallant ships, built in America and manned by American seamen.

In the South each plantation was a little world by itself. Perhaps there, even more than in New England, all life and activity was centered about the home. As the years went on, the planta-

tions developed, but towns were few and small. While New England built ships and entered into trade, Virginia and her southern neighbors tilled their broad fields. Both found strength and prosperity.

Many books have been written which describe for us life in these far-away colonial times; and you will find them well worth reading. They tell us tales of roomy old kitchens, with huge fireplaces around which the family gathered at night, popping corn, roasting apples, cracking nuts; the children listening eagerly to stories of old England, or perhaps to wild tales of bears and panthers and stealthy, catlike Indians, or still more weird and horrible stories of witches and wizards, while the red firelight glowed over all, and the steady hum of the spinning wheel made a drowsy accompaniment to the story.

Flax Spinning Wheel

We shall find stories of the Sundays of long ago — of the bare, cold churches, so cold that sometimes the minister preached in overcoat and mittens. We shall hear of the tithingman, whose duty it was to keep drowsy folk awake when the sermon proved too long and dry, for sermons were long in those days — three or four hours was not at all unusual.

We shall read of harsh laws for the punishment of crime, and of the stocks and pillory that stood on every village green; of the ducking stool, where scolding women were shown the error of their ways; and of many other strange ways of punishing people for doing wrong.

Stocks

We shall be told of the way people traveled when they made their long-anticipated visits to Boston or Philadelphia, and of the time it took to go from place to place. We shall hear of a

stagecoach which was called "the flying machine," because it could go from New York to Philadelphia in two days.

The books will tell us, too, of fashionable balls and banquets in the gayer towns ; of ladies and gentlemen in gorgeous costumes and with wonderfully powdered hair ; of their sedate and dignified manners, and of their stately minuet.

There will be stories, too, of the belief in witchcraft, and the cruel deeds that were done because of it. We shall hear of the dreadful days in Salem, when nineteen so-called witches were hanged on "Gallows Hill," and no one

knew who would
be the next to
hang beside
them. We shall

Pillory

shudder, and be glad that the day of belief in witchcraft has gone forever.

Foot Stove

Yes, there are wonderful stories awaiting us in these records of colonial days, and we shall know

our forefathers better when we have read them. Then, young folks, let me introduce you to your own great-great-great-great grandfathers. You will find them shut in between the covers of the books on the library shelves, and very glad to come out and have a chat with you.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The English colonies increased rapidly in size and strength.
2. One of the strongest traits of the English colonists was their love of self-government. Because of this they often quarreled with their royal governors. Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia, the uprising under Leisler in New York, and the removal of Sir Edmund Andros in Massachusetts were

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all results of such quarrels. All these show a growing spirit of resistance to what the people believed to be oppression.

3. The English colonists were a steady, sturdy people, intent upon home-making.

4. There are many interesting accounts of their way of living. We shall enjoy reading some of them.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Stories of the Old Dominion," Cooke, pp. 65-81.
2. "Everyday life in the Colonies," Stone and Fickett.
3. "Stories of the Old Bay State," Brooks, pp. 92-100.
4. "Colonial Stories retold from *St. Nicholas*," pp. 62-171.
5. "Home Life in Colonial Days," "Costumes of Colonial Times," "Child Life in Colonial Days," "Customs and Fashions in Old New England," Earle.
6. "Source Book of American History," "Colonial Children," "Camps and Firesides of the Revolution," Hart.
7. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 197-216.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the exact meaning of *political, proprietors, oppose, assembly, oppression, resistance, absolute, goal, empire, vitality*.
2. Find pictures of colonial scenes.
3. Describe the appearance of a colonial lady of fashion; a fashionable colonial gentleman; of a colonial homestead; of a farmhouse kitchen.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Make a map showing the thirteen English colonies.
2. Government of the English Colonies.

CHARTERED	PROPRIETARY	ROYAL

3. Write upon one of the subjects given below. Be sure to select one upon which you have done some reading, so that you may have something to say.

A Colonial Sunday.

A New England Farmhouse.

Life on a Virginia Plantation.

How People dressed Two Hundred Years Ago.

Colonial Punishments for Crime.

4. Copy: "The English colonists were a steady, sturdy people, not dreaming of vast empire, but intent upon making homes."

III

LIFE IN NEW FRANCE

WE shall find many sharp contrasts between the English colonies we have been considering and those of the French. First of all we shall notice the difference in climate and in the natural resources of the French settlements. Not corn, nor tobacco, but furs, we find the chief product of the country — a fact which had a great influence upon the character of the people.

Instead of settling down to a farming life, most of the men became woodrangers — fur traders, hunters, trappers. They lived wild lives in the forests, and in spite of the efforts of the king and his officers to draw them back to the settlements, they loved the wild life best. King Louis tried very hard to make the colony grow. Francis Parkman, a great historian who has told the story of New France, says, "The new settler was found by the king, sent over by the king, and supplied by the king with a wife, a farm, and sometimes with a house. Well did Louis XIV earn the title of 'Father of New France.'"

Some of these colonists sent over by the king were peasants, while many were soldiers whose regiments the king ordered to Canada and then caused to be disbanded there, hoping that the men would remain and become colonists, as most of them did. The wives provided by the king were sent out from France, a hundred or two at a time, much as was done in Virginia in the early days. There was nothing to be paid, however, by the settler for his wife, as in Virginia. He was, on the contrary, almost driven to marry, by the orders of the benevolent king.

King Louis believed, and there was much truth in his theory, that the colony would never prosper until families were estab-

lished, and the children born in Canada grew up to become the men of the next generation. A pension was offered to any man who should have ten children, and a greater sum to the father of twelve.

Successful, however, as the king's matrimonial plans were, he did not succeed in building up the great population that he dreamed of for Canada. The woods were too near, the great rivers and the lakes seemed always calling the young men to the wild life beyond. Farming was slow work, and often discouraging work. Why should one toil in the fields, coaxing the backward crops, when the forest teemed with game and the waters with fish, always ready for the hunter or the fisherman? Why plod on day after day in the same stupid round of cares and troubles? In the forest one could be free!

And so we hear of deserted farms, of abandoned homes and wives and children. In vain were laws made and penalties ordered to overcome the evil. The French colonist was made of different stock from the English — more impulsive, less ready to give up his present desire for the sake of some later good, less self-reliant in matters of government, having been trained by centuries of absolute rule, to be guided by those in authority.

Nowhere is this absolute government more clearly shown than in Canada. The king made himself in truth the "Father of New France," and he governed the colonists as though they were unruly children. They were not, it is true, capable of self-government as the English were; but their training in the New World was doing little to make them more capable of it.

One of the most noticeable results of the adventurous life of the Canadian woodsmen was their friendship with the Indians. With the exception of the Iroquois, who had been the foes of all Frenchmen since the time when Champlain had given their enemies aid against them, all the northern tribes were friendly, and even more than friendly, with the men of Canada. Often the woodsman visited his "red brothers," sometimes he lived among

them and married an Indian wife. All the secrets of the forest became his, and he forgot the ways of civilization.

Sometimes, however, he did not live entirely among the Indians, but returned once in two or three years to the settlement. Here he sold the furs he had gathered together (often against the orders of the king), and after a few days of wild drunken revelry would make his way back to the woods again.

It seems strange that through all this wild, lawless life the Church should have kept its hold upon even the most adventurous of the settlers, but such is the case. The Church and the king, — these were the forces that guided the fortunes of New France. The colonists grew to depend always upon the king for aid and the priest for counsel, and even in the smallest affairs of government to follow the guidance of the officers of Church and Crown sent to rule them. This habit of dependence upon others was perhaps the reason why the French colonists did not become self-supporting and self-governing like their English neighbors.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The French colonies differed from the English in natural resources, in government, in religion, in the character of the people.
2. There were fewer villages and settled communities than in the English colonies. Most of the settlements were trading posts and missions.
3. The Canadian woodrangers were friendly with the Indians.
4. Self-government was unknown in Canada. The church and the king held much power.

THINGS TO READ

"History of the United States," Elson, pp. 174-178.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the exact meaning of *contracts*, *natural resources*, *regiments*, *benevolent*, *theory*, *generation*, *pension*, *matrimonial*, *teemed*, *abandoned*, *penalties*, *impulsive*, *suppression*, *peasants*.

2. The English colonists might be described as slow, steady, home-loving, self-reliant, interested in politics. Select words to describe the French colonists which shall show the contrast between them and the English.

3. Discuss in class with your teacher the following question:—

Why should a colony whose men lived in the woods as hunters and adventurers prosper less than a colony of homemakers?

4. Study the furs and fur-bearing animals of Canada. A class collection of fur specimens, accompanied by pictures of the animals, would be most interesting.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. A Canadian Woodranger.

Where he made his home; why he did not remain in the settlement; what he often left behind; how he spent his life; his "red brothers"; an occasional visit to the settlement.

2. "The Father of New France."

To whom this name was given; why; how he tried to make the colony grow; the result of his efforts; the reasons for this result.

3. Comparison of the French and the English colonists.

IV

A GLANCE AT ENGLAND AND FRANCE

LEAVING for a time the rival colonies in America, let us glance at the mother countries in Europe. In the first half of the seventeenth century there had been a great civil war in England. Resistance to oppression was a trait of Englishmen at home as well as in America. In 1649 the English king, Charles I, was beheaded, and the victorious

army declared that henceforth the land should be ruled by Parliament alone. For four years Parliament ruled; but behind Parliament was the army; and behind the army was its leader, Oliver Cromwell, and it was only a question of time when Cromwell should become the acknowledged ruler. The rule of Parliament did not satisfy Cromwell, and he took away its power, making himself "Lord Protector of the Realm." His power was great, and as he was a man of great strength of char-

Charles I
Who was beheaded.

acter, he did much for England, both in building up a strong government at home and in securing the respect of foreign nations.

When Cromwell died, in 1659, the Parliament and the army, contending for power, produced a condition of great confusion, and after a few months of uncertainty under the rule of Crom-

well's son, the people were quite ready to have a king again. They invited Charles, son of the king whom they had beheaded, to return to England as their ruler, and he was glad enough to accept. It seemed as though the civil war and the determination of the people to rule themselves had been quite forgotten.

But Charles II, the new king, was much like his father in wanting to have his own way, and before his reign of twenty-five years was over, the people had begun to repent of asking him to return. His brother, James II, who became king in 1685, was still worse, and was so hated by the people that after three years they would bear his rule no longer.

Oliver Cromwell
Ruler of England during the
period of the Common-
wealth.

They asked William, Prince of Orange in Holland, to come over to England and become king. Unlike his immediate predecessors,

who had been Roman Catholics, William was a Protestant. William's wife Mary was a daughter of James, so she had some claim upon the throne. King James was willing now to make all

New liberties
gained by Eng-
lish people

sorts of promises to observe the liberties of the people, but it was too late; he was deposed, and was obliged to flee from England. Much of the power that had been the king's was given to Parliament, and it seemed at last as though the liberties of the English people were assured.

Charles II

Became king of England in 1660, after
Cromwell's death.

There could be no stronger contrast to England under King William than France under Louis XIV. Almost born a king, —

Louis XIV of France he was only five years old when his father died, —
 he believed he was born to rule. He used to declare, "I am the state," meaning, of course, that his will in all things must be obeyed. France had grown much in strength and power

during the reign of Louis XIII, and during the childhood of the new boy king, the kingdom was well managed by his ministers. Wars with Austria and with Spain had made France the leading state of Europe, and when Louis grew old enough to take the reins of government into his own hands, he determined to make France greater yet.

The people were not consulted. It was the king's part to command, theirs to obey. And was it not all for the glory of France? The people should be willing to fight and to pay heavy taxes for such an object.

Louis XIV

King of France from 1638 to 1715.

War followed war; all Europe was drawn into the conflict, — and all that Louis XIV's power and fame should be increased.

All Europe was drawn into the conflict, we said. We shall be interested to see on which side the various states fought. During the whole period Louis's greatest enemy was Holland, — brave little Holland, which stood for freedom in all things. Beside her we find England, with her king of Dutch birth, and, allied with them, the smaller Protestant states of Europe. Spain and Austria, the leading Roman Catholic states, were sometimes to be

found on one side, sometimes on the other. But in the main the place of each nation in this great struggle was determined by its prevailing religious belief, though sometimes the nation's choice depended upon its attitude toward Political Freedom. War followed war; and every war found its echo across the Atlantic, in the far-off woods of America.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. Important changes in the government of England were made near the end of the seventeenth century. The power of Parliament was much increased, that the people might hereafter share in governing themselves.

2. In France the people had no share in the government. Louis XIV made his people poor by foreign wars. In these wars the Dutch and the English were his chief enemies.

THINGS TO READ

1. "The Story of the English," Guerber, pp. 260-288.
2. "Little Stories of France," Dutton, pp. 118-124.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the exact meaning of *Parliament*, *realm*, *ministers*, *absolute*, *monarch*.

2. Discuss in class the question: In war time which would you expect to find the better soldiers, the people of a self-governing nation, or those of a country ruled by an absolute monarch?

(Remember that an opinion without reasons is valueless.)

3. Find out if possible what modern nations are absolute monarchies. Are they the progressive nations of the world?

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Compare the governments of England and France at the end of the seventeenth century.

GOVERNMENT	FRANCE	ENGLAND
Power of king		
Power of people		

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2. Obtain and mount a picture of the English Houses of Parliament. Explain what the Parliament is.

OUTLINE

- I. Conditions in Europe and America near the end of the seventeenth century.
 - A. The English colonies.
 - 1. Government.
 - 2. The people — their strongest traits.
 - 3. Events which show one of these traits.
 - B. New France.
 - 1. Government.
 - 2. The people — their prominent traits.
 - C. Comparison of the French and English colonies.
 - D. The mother countries.
 - 1. Governments of France and England compared.
 - 2. Louis XIV's wars.
 - 3. Effect of Louis's government on his people.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CONTINENT

V

AMERICAN ECHOES OF EUROPEAN WARS

It is easy to see that the differences we have noted between the French and the English colonists might cause distrust, suspicion, even hatred, between them. When we consider that the mother countries in Europe were bitter foes, we begin to understand the condition of things in America in 1689. French and English colonists, 1689

Here were the colonies of two great European nations, planted side by side in a new land. With no natural boundary between them, it could hardly fail to happen that sooner or later they would come into conflict. The French in America were dreaming of a great empire, as great as the continent itself. They were spreading out their forces and building their little forts up and down through the great central plain. For here was the prize — the great river whose owners might some day control the commerce of the whole interior. Every movement of the French was toward this end, — the control of the Mississippi and the Great Lakes.

And now the English were beginning to see the value of the great valley. They were attempting to build up a trade with the Indians; they were even beginning to cross the mountain wall in search of homes. There is little doubt that the struggle for the continent would still have come, had there been no European wars to set it in motion. But the tumult across the Atlantic could not but hasten it.

In 1689, then, we see the opening of the conflict. War was

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declared between England and France. In America the colonists, patriotic, true to their governments at home, and perhaps not unmindful of their own prejudices, took up the quarrel as their own. The war in America was not like that in Europe, where great armies met

King Wil-
liam's War
1689-1697

nists, patriotic, true to their governments at home,
and perhaps not unmindful of their own prejudices,
took up the quarrel as their own. The war in

Pioneer Home in the Ohio Valley

and fought the battles which were to win or lose the day. The battles in the New World were most frequently fought in the night, and were usually very one-sided affairs.

Kind of
warfare in
America

Some lonely settlement on the border between New England and Canada, perhaps, — once it was Schenectady in New York, — would be wrapped in the heavy slumber that follows days of toil. Sometimes sentinels would be on guard, but oftener all would be asleep. Through the forest, over the dead leaves or

the noiseless carpet of snow, would come a dusky band — French woodsmen such as we have read of, and their Indian allies and friends.

Silently stealing into the village, the warriors would surround the houses, then, sending forth their horrible war cries, would rouse the people within to fight for their lives. Over and over again this happened, and some-

Intercolonial Wars

and became like the savages they lived among.

When in 1697 peace was declared between France and England, the colonists of New York and New England on the one hand, and of Canada on the other, were glad enough to stop fighting. New York had suffered most, and though she had protected the colonies south of her, they had done but little to aid her in her struggle.

The peace, however, did not last long. In 1702 war began

again, and soon all Europe was drawn into the quarrel. The wearied colonists at once began preparations for renewing the *Queen Anne's* fight. The raids of the Canadian "war parties" *War, 1702-1713* were begun once more. This time Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and the struggling settlements of Maine had to bear the heaviest burden. We can scarcely read

without a shudder the stories of these unhappy days in New England.

In the winter of 1704, a dreadful raid was made upon the little town of Deerfield, in the Connecticut Valley. The three hundred settlers were peacefully sleeping when the war whoop sounded and tomahawks came crashing against the

The Attack on Deerfield

doors. In a moment all was confusion. Doors were broken in, and the inmates of the houses were killed or dragged forth as captives. Houses were set on fire, and the crackling flames added terror to the scene. Shouting savages swarmed everywhere, while the screams of frightened children and the cries of the dying filled the air.

As the gray dawn began to break over the distant hillsides, a sorrowful band was led away toward Canada. Over a hundred prisoners — men, women, children, even babies among them — set out on the long journey. Many died from cold and weakness, and many, when their strength failed and they could go

no farther, were killed by the Indians. Months of dreary and painful marching had to be endured before Canada was reached.

This attack upon Deerfield was only one of many such happenings. Nowhere along the northern frontier of the New England colonies could the people feel secure for a single day or night.

The war dragged on until 1713, in both Europe and America. In 1710 the English colonists, after several attempts, succeeded in taking Port Royal,

and so gaining control of the province of Acadia. In Europe, Louis XIV had met with many disasters, and the French people were overwhelmed with a great war debt. Both English and French were glad to stop fighting. The treaty which closed the war gave to England Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, and Acadia. This was a great gain for England, and a great loss for France.

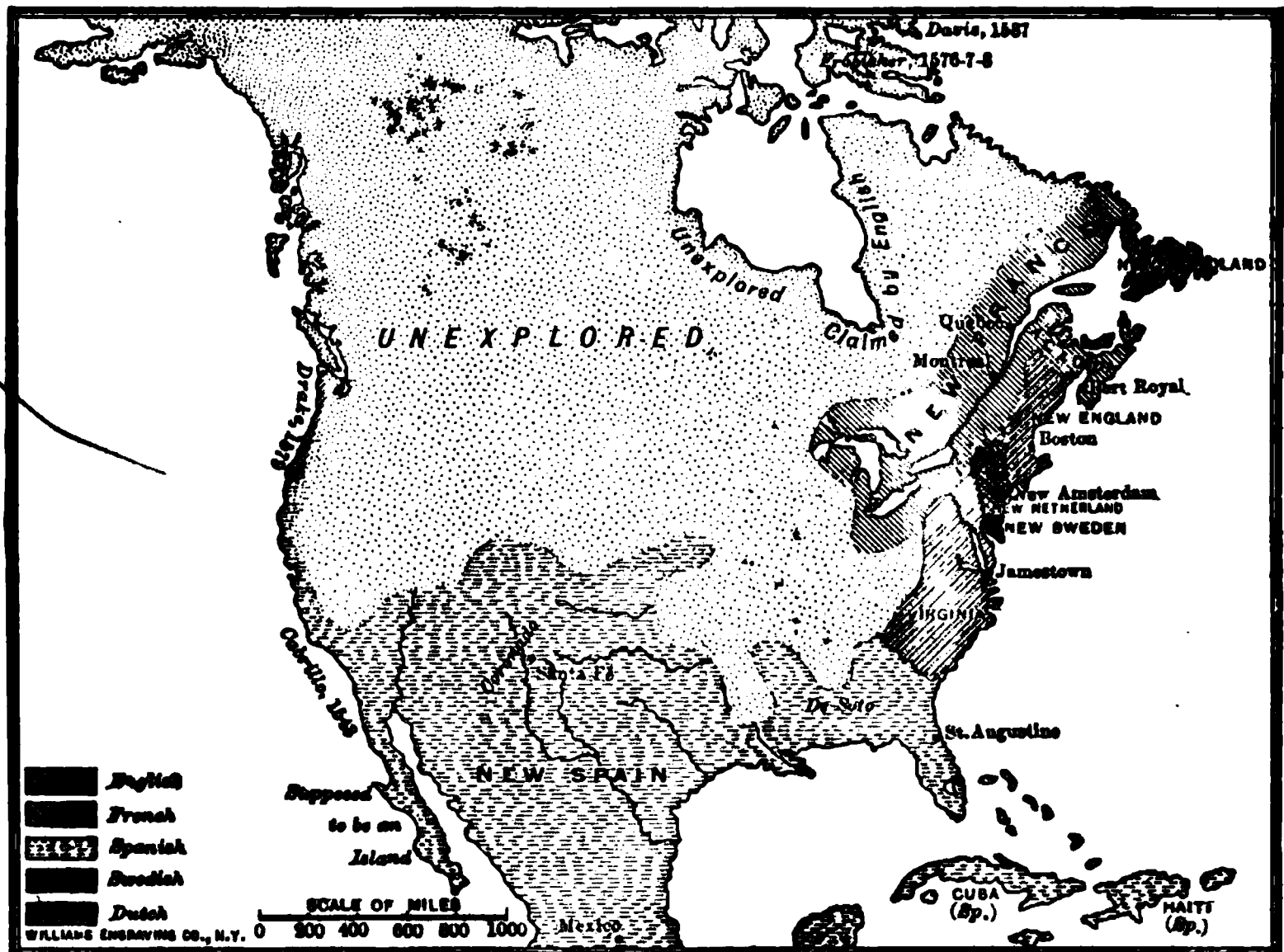
On the Road to Canada

The old quarrel was, however, almost untouched. The boundary between Canada and the English colonies remained unsettled. The hatred between the French and the English settlers burned as fiercely as ever. It needed only an excuse to break out into war. The excuse came in 1744, when a new war broke out in Europe, and found France and England, as usual, on opposite sides.

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Immediately the governor of the French town of Louisburg in America decided to attack the English in Acadia. This territory, you will remember, had come under English rule at the

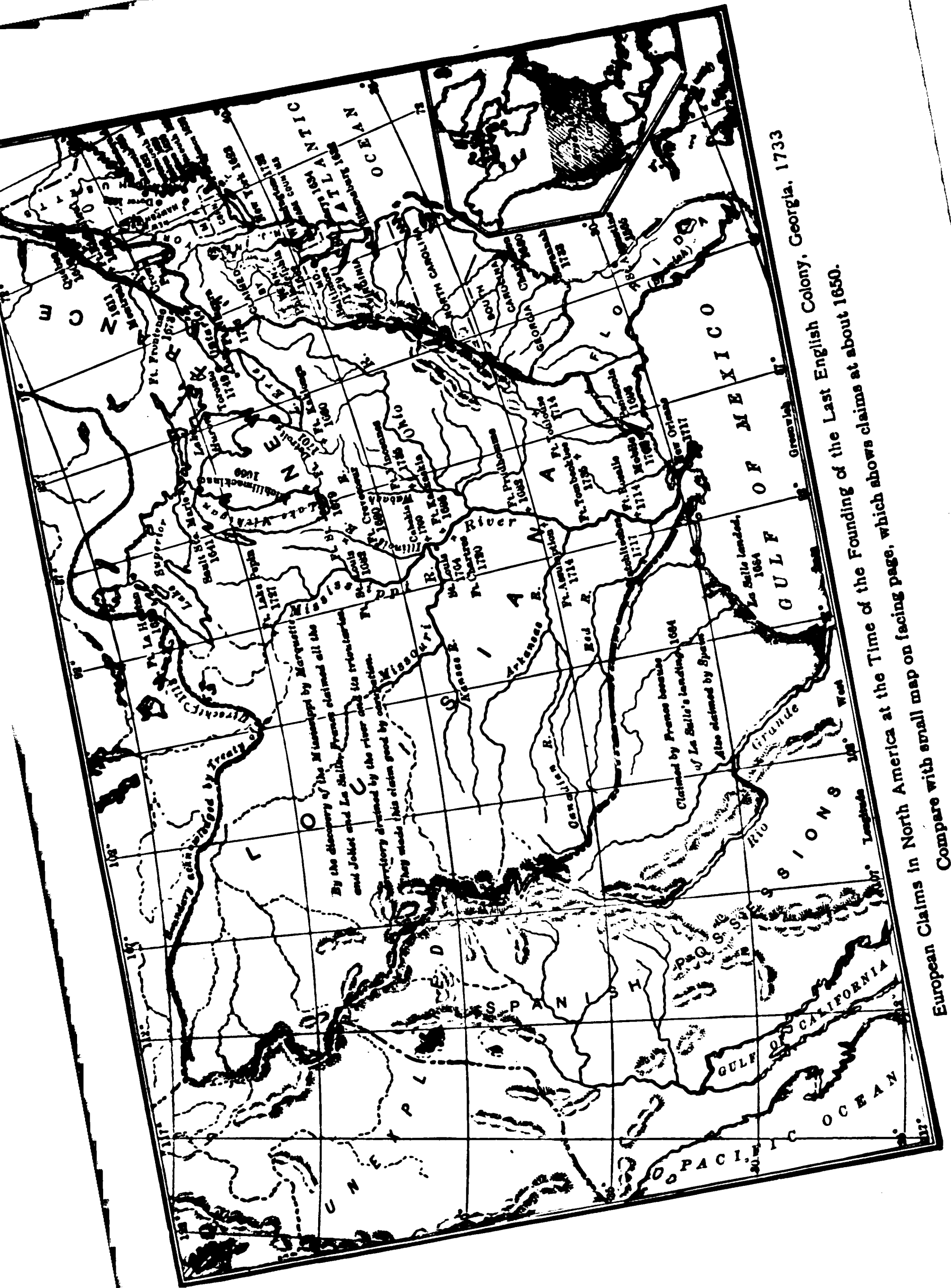
close of the preceding war. The French expedition against Acadia succeeded in capturing a little fishing town, and attacked Port Royal, or Annapolis, as the English called it, but without success.



Claims of European Nations before the French had reached the Mississippi

These attacks so enraged the people of New England that they formed no less a plan than an attempt to capture Louisburg itself. The rashness of this plan lay in two things, — the strength of the town, and the entire lack of trained soldiers to attack it. The town was only thirty years old, but it was generally acknowledged to be the strongest fortress on the continent.

The people of Massachusetts became wildly enthusiastic over the plan. No one seemed to consider a chance of failure. Benjamin Franklin wrote from Philadelphia to his brother in Boston



European Claims in North America at the Time of the Founding of the Last English Colony, Georgia, 1733

Compare with small map on facing page, which shows claims at about 1650.

that "fortified towns are hard nuts to crack, and your teeth are not accustomed to it; but some seem to think that forts are as easily taken as snuff;" but I have no doubt that his letter was greeted with laughter and shouts of derision. A writer of that day says of the expedition that "it had a lawyer for contriver, a

A View of Boston, 1744

The year before Louisburg was taken.

merchant for general, and farmers, fishermen, and mechanics for soldiers."

Perhaps the strangest part of the whole story is that the expedition did succeed. The French soldiers in the fort were not in good condition, and their commander was a man of little force of character; powder was scarce, and the help expected from Canada did not arrive. So, somehow, in spite of their lack of discipline, and in spite of the clumsy old guns they carried, the New Englanders captured the town. There was great rejoicing in Boston when the news came. Bells rang, cannon were fired,

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and the shouts of the people filled the air. Louisburg, the French stronghold, was taken.

The succeeding years of the war show little but tales of "war parties" sent out by the French and opposed by the inhabitants now of this village, now of that. No event of importance occurred until, in 1748, both England and France, ready to make peace, agreed to return all conquests to their original owners. Great was the indignation in Boston when it was known that Louisburg was to be given back to the French. But such was the decision of the English government, and so it had to be.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The people of the English colonies and those of New France became rivals for the possession of the Ohio Valley.
2. When war broke out between England and France, the colonists in America took up the quarrel.
3. Between 1689 and 1748 there were three wars between the mother countries, each of which had its echo in the New World.
4. Each of these wars served to make more intense the hatred between Canadians and English colonists.

THINGS TO READ

1. "A Half Century of Conflict," Parkman, Vol. II, pp. 121-134.
2. "The Taking of Louisburg," Drake.
3. "Grandfather's Chair," Hawthorne, Part II, Chapter VII.
4. "Great Grandmother's Girls in New France," Champney.
5. "Fife and Drum at Louisburg," Oxley.
6. "The Young Puritan Series" (4 volumes), and "The Boy Captive of Old Deerfield," Smith.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the exact meaning of *interior*, *patriotic*, *prejudice*, *sentinels*, *allies*, *defense*, *fortifying*, *discipline*.
2. Find out why the three wars described in the chapter were called King William's War, Queen Anne's War, and King George's War.
3. Learn 1689 as the date which marks the appearance of a common interest, a common foe, for the English colonists.

4. Ask your teacher to tell you the story of Hannah Dustin.

5. Imagine that you were in Boston in 1745, a stranger. Hearing bells and cannon, and seeing much excitement among the people, you set out to discover the cause. Write a letter to a friend, describing the scene, and telling what you discovered of its occasion.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Make a map to illustrate the colonial wars you have studied.

2. Write the story of Hannah Dustin.

3. The Early Colonial Wars.

King William's War began in ———; it ended in ———.

Queen Anne's War began in ———; it ended in ———.

King George's War began in ———; it ended in ———.

These wars may be called "echoes" of European wars, because

VI

RIVALS IN THE GREAT VALLEY

It is not hard to see that the peace of 1748 could not last long in America. With the boundary between New France and the English colonies still unsettled, with both nations claiming the country west of the Alleghenies, with the French constantly stirring up the people of Acadia against their new rulers, war could not be long delayed. English traders from Pennsylvania and Virginia were making friends with the Indians in the Ohio Valley, and were drawing away much trade from the French. Not only this, but a number of Virginians

Causes of
trouble be-
tween French
and English
colonists

The Last French War
Notice on small continent map the seat of the war.

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preparations to force them off the ground. A warning to withdraw, sent to the French commander by Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, produced no result. At once a party of Virginians set out to build a fort, choosing the place where the city of Pittsburg now stands; but a party of Frenchmen appeared, and the Virginians were forced to give up the position to them. The fort was finished by the French, and under the name Fort Duquesne became the chief French stronghold in the valley.

Washington's Return from the French Fort

The message to the French commander had been carried by a young officer of the Virginia militia — Major George Washington. **Young Major** Though only twenty-one years old, he had made the **Washington** perilous winter journey through the wilds of the Allegheny forests with only one companion, and had returned safely from his fruitless errand. He now went with three hundred militiamen to the Ohio country; and there, coming into conflict

with a small party of Frenchmen, blood was shed, and prisoners taken, as though a war had begun. Washington built a rude fort, which he called Fort Necessity, but the French and their Indian allies compelled him to give it up. Thus far the French seemed likely to win the eagerly desired valley.

It was unfortunate that in scarcely any of the English colonies was there harmony between the governor and the assembly. The constant quarrels between them made it almost impossible for the governors to obtain money. And money was now a necessity if the French were to be driven from the Ohio Valley. Equally important and equally hard to obtain was united action by the various colonies. There was much jealousy between the different parts of the country. Each assembly was afraid of doing something to benefit some neighboring colony. Even in their treaties with the Indians it was "each for himself," and endless confusion resulted.

The colonies had long been urged by the home government to make a joint treaty with the Indians. In 1754 seven of the colonies agreed to do so, and sent delegates to a convention at Albany. There they were met by the Iroquois tribesmen. The Indian treaty disposed of, the delegates discussed the possibility of a united government among the English colonies. They even went so far as to draw up a plan for such a government, but nothing came of it. The "Albany Plan," as it is known, pleased neither colonies nor king. All were too jealous of their own power to find any plan acceptable. The need for union was a real need, however, and the wisest men in the colonies were coming to feel it more and more. Benjamin Franklin, a wise and far-sighted man, and one prominent in all American affairs, did much to encourage this feeling; and his influence in the Convention was of great value to the cause of united action.

Meanwhile there was war—or the beginning of war—in the Ohio Valley, and though the English government and the French

government hastened to assure each other that they desired nothing so much as peace, they made even more haste to send soldiers to their respective colonies. General Braddock was sent

to command the English forces in America, and he planned at once to retake Fort Duquesne, to capture Fort Niagara and Crown Point, and to drive the French from Lake Champlain. All of these plans failed, and that against Fort Duquesne, led by Braddock himself, ended in a great disaster which plunged the whole country into gloom.

Braddock was a brave man, but he knew nothing of forest warfare, and was unwilling to take advice from those who did know.

Benjamin Franklin

The army set out in fine order, red-coated British "regulars" and Virginia militiamen marching together. Braddock found much fault with the Virginia troops, and gave orders to one of his officers to try to "make them as much like soldiers as possible." Washington was with Braddock, and he tells us that the general found little in the country or the colonists to admire.

The march through the forest was slow, but all went well until the army was about eight miles from Fort Duquesne. Then suddenly a war whoop sounded, and the English found themselves in the midst of the enemy. The British regulars at first sturdily faced the foe, and used their muskets well; but their bullets did more damage to the trees than to the enemy, who were fighting



Franklin's Device of the
Divided Snake

Indian fashion from the shelter of tree trunks, bushes, — anything that would serve as a moment's protection. The British soldiers were bewildered at this strange new kind of warfare, and soon all order was forgotten. The men broke their ranks and crowded close together, either forgetting to fire at all, or firing blindly anywhere, even among their own comrades.

Only the Virginians, who had long ago learned the lesson of

savage warfare, knew what to do. They broke their ranks, hid behind trees, and met the attack of the enemy in true backwoods fashion. But Braddock could not understand their action. He flew into a rage, and, cursing what he believed to be their cowardice, ordered the Virginians back into line. The few regulars who had tried to follow the example of the colonial soldiers he beat with his sword, and so forced them back among the rest. The scarlet coats, glowing with color, were good targets for the Indian marksmen, and, as scores fell, the fear of the rest increased.

"I cannot describe the horrors of that scene," wrote one of the officers a few weeks later. "No pen could do it. The yell of the Indians is fresh on my ear, and the terrific sound will haunt me until the hour of my dissolution."

The officers made the greatest efforts to arouse the men. Many of the officers were killed, Braddock himself being mortally wounded just as he had at last ordered the retreat. The soldiers made a wild rush backward through the forest. "When we endeavored to rally them," says Washington, "it was with as much success as if we had attempted to stop the wild bears of the mountains." The young colonel received no wound, though two horses were shot under him, and four bullets had torn their way through his coat.

Braddock died four days after the battle, and the few remaining officers buried his body in the road over which the remainder of the army was to tramp in its continued retreat toward Philadelphia. The heavy tread of soldiers and horses soon removed every trace of the grave, leaving the body of the unfortunate general safe from Indian insult.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The last French war was not an echo of European troubles. It began in America, caused by the rival claims of the Ohio Valley.

2. Both French and English sent men to occupy the valley. These men came into conflict near where Pittsburg now stands, and blood was shed. George Washington, then a major in the Virginia militia, was in command of the defeated Englishmen.

3. No united action on the part of the English colonies against the French was possible because of their jealousy of one another. At the Albany Convention a plan for united government for the colonies was discussed. The plan met with no favor from either colonists or English government.

4. General Braddock was sent from England to take charge of the fighting against the French. He brought trained English soldiers. Four expeditions against the French were planned. They all failed. Braddock himself was badly defeated not far from Fort Duquesne.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Montcalm and Wolfe," Parkman, Vol. I, pp. 131-136, 213-221, 224-226.
2. "Stories of the Old Dominion," Cooke, pp. 94-139.
3. "Old Times in the Colonies," Coffin, pp. 363-373, 380-388.
4. "George Washington," Scudder, pp. 7-94.
5. "George Washington," Hale, pp. 1-85.
6. "George Washington," Hapgood, pp. 1-70.
7. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 178-181.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the exact meaning of *surrender, delegates, convention, dissolution, mortally, retreat, rally*.
2. Think over or talk over in class the following question: Which nation, French or English, had the better claim to the Ohio Valley? When you have formed your opinion, write it briefly with your reasons.
3. Discuss:—
 - (1) Which nation, French or English, seemed likely to make the better use of the territory?
 - (2) What quality in General Braddock's character made his defeat probable?
 - (3) What qualities are necessary to make a successful general?
4. By consulting your geography, try to discover why the place where Pittsburg now stands was important to both French and English.
5. Imagine yourself to be one of the Virginia militiamen who accompanied Braddock. Write or tell the story of the battle as you might have told it to your friends and neighbors on your return.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Draw a map of North America. Color with crayon or water colors the territory claimed by the French; then in a contrasting color show that claimed by the English. The part of the map where the two colors overlap will show the territory in dispute. Place on your map all the places mentioned in the chapter.
2. Write about Washington's journey to the French fort: his errand; the country through which he had to pass; his companions (what kind of men were chosen); some of their adventures. (Do not write this until you have done some of the reading about Washington suggested in the "Things to Read.")

VII

PROGRESS OF THE WAR

In only one of the plans for the year 1755 were the English successful; and the story of this success is even sadder than the story of their failures. We have already spoken of the removal of the Acadians from Acadia, and of the trouble the English had there in trying to make loyal English subjects of the people. The French did everything in their power to keep the people discontented and succeeded

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Acadia of migration to the English king, whose
who refused must be punished. The peo-
ple were more obstinate than ever. They flatly refused to take
the oath, and the punishment fell. Such a punishment! one that

has roused the sympathy of the world ever since that dreadful day. For it was decreed that the rebellious Acadians should be taken away from their pleasant homes, and carried, shipload after shipload, to the colonies of the hated English — there to live, scattered among the feared and dreaded heretics, to begin life anew, with all their wealth of barn and storehouse left behind.

The simple-minded Acadians could not believe that the cruel sentence would be carried out, until the ships arrived, and the people were forced to go on board. It

An Acadian Farm

was a sorrowful scene. Friends, neighbors, sometimes even members of the same family, were separated in the confusion. The shrill cries of children, searching vainly for their parents, mingled with the feeble complaints of the old and helpless and with the harsh voices of the soldiers urging all to haste; while the whole gloomy picture was lighted by the lurid glow of flame — for the unhappy peasants were forced to watch their homes fall in heaps of ashes, to show them how useless it would be for them to attempt to return and begin the old life again.

More than six thousand were carried away, and were landed in the various English colonies from Maine to Georgia. Their lot was a hard one, for they were homesick and unhappy, besides being unwelcome in their new homes. The whole affair was indeed the saddest of successes.

In May, 1756, after almost two years of actual fighting in the New World, England declared war upon France; the struggle in the woods of America now became part of a great European war, in which almost every nation on the continent had a part. There

were many quarrels and many jealousies which led to this arraying of all Europe on one side or the other, and we need not ask what they were. It is enough to know that England, with a single ally, Frederick of Prussia, was to face the armies of the rest of Europe.

Nor need we follow the course of the war, except in North America. From now on the French were able to give little aid to Canada, though a new commander, the Marquis de Montcalm, was

Embarkation of the Acadians

sent from France. Montcalm was a good soldier, and under him the French entered upon two years of victory. The English generals who opposed Montcalm were quite unequal to their task, and it is said that the end of 1757 saw not a single village or hamlet of English-speaking people in the Ohio Valley or the basin of the St. Lawrence.

With the new year — 1758 — there came a great change in the management of the war. In England, William Pitt, a man of wonderful ability, had become prime minister, and nowhere is his ability shown more than in his conduct of the American war. More soldiers, under carefully selected officers, were sent over, and the tide of events began to turn. In July, 1758, Louisburg was again taken from the French, and in November Fort Duquesne fell into English hands. A new name — Fort Pitt — was given to the place, in honor of the great English statesman.

In July of the next year Fort Niagara was taken, and at almost the same time Ticonderoga. And now not only the Ohio country, *Attack on* but Canada, — *Quebec,* Quebec itself, the *1759* center and stronghold of the French, — was attacked. We almost wonder at the daring of the English in trying to capture Quebec, doubly fortified as it was by its position on a high bluff overlooking the river, and by a strong citadel guarded by the best of the French soldiers under the leadership of the commander-in-chief, Montcalm.

William Pitt
From an old print.

But they did try it, and in the spring of 1759 nine thousand men were placed on shipboard to sail up the St. Lawrence to Quebec. Their leader was General James Wolfe, a man but little over thirty years of age. He had already proved himself a gallant soldier, however, and he gladly undertook the capture of the French stronghold. In the early summer, 1759, the English vessels came to anchor in the river below Quebec. Soon all was in readiness, and the English cannon began to boom forth a summons to the French to give up Quebec. The Lower Town — that is the part of the town at the foot of the bluff — was soon in ruins, and even the Upper Town, about the citadel, was

General Wolfe

made to suffer from English shells. But the citadel — the strong old fortress — showed no sign of giving up. Wolfe moved his camp nearer to the city, and a few weeks later a severe battle was fought not far from the camp. The English were driven back, and seemed farther than ever from capturing Quebec.

It was resolved to move the camp to a place on the river above the city, and to try there to find some way up the steep cliff, thus gaining the plains behind the town. The bank of the river was searched for a pathway, and at last it was found. Careful preparations were made. On a dark night in September the men

Quebec and Vicinity
Look at the picture on page 44.

were silently rowed to the place selected, and still more silently led up the narrow, dangerous path. There were French guards at the top, but they were easily overpowered. And when the pale light of morning broke over the citadel, it fell on the red-coated English soldiers, drawn up in battle line on the plains outside the town.

There was great excitement in the fortress. Montcalm hastened to make ready for battle. His soldiers were poorly equipped — indeed, it had been almost impossible for Montcalm to obtain any supplies. But he had done all he could, and he entered upon the battle with a brave heart.

It proved impossible, however, to drive the English back. Wolfe led the charge, and his men carried everything before them. The French broke into confusion. Montcalm did his best to stop their flight, and received a mortal wound. Wolfe, too, was struck, and again, and yet again! Both of these valiant

commanders were to die — the one victorious, — happy, as he said when dying, because he could know that the French were “flying everywhere”: the other sad, though he had done his duty nobly, and thanking God that he should “not live to see the surrender of Quebec.”

Five days after the battle the English soldiers entered the

The Death of General Wolfe
From the painting by Benjamin West.

town and placed their garrison in the fortress. Wolfe's victory was the greatest achievement of the war. With Quebec lost, it could not be long before all of Canada would fall into British hands. And so it proved. About a year after the fall of Quebec, Montreal surrendered, and New France had become only a name.

All through the long struggle which was to decide the fate of the French in America, their Indian allies had looked on anxiously. Now that the end had come, they found it hard to believe

that their friends were really conquered. Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas, resolved to strike one more blow for the French, and at the same time to rid the country of the hated English. **The conspiracy of Pontiac:** Where the English came, the red man was driven out, but French and Indians could live in peace and harmony. Pontiac's conspiracy was well planned, but it ended after all in failure, and the English were left in undisputed possession of the land they had conquered.

Meanwhile the struggle in Europe went on. The genius of Pitt had been shown, however, in the Old World as well as in the New; in 1757 the English had gained a great victory in the far-off land of India, where they and the French had been fighting for the mastery. And now the English fleets captured the French West India islands, and Havana, the Spanish stronghold in Cuba. It began to seem best to the French to make peace before they lost anything more. It was hard for them to face the fact that the empire of which they had dreamed was not to be theirs, and harder still to think of their territory as adding to the power and glory of their hated rivals, the English. There was, however, little hope of getting it back, even if they kept on fighting. A treaty was signed in 1763, and the war — called the Seven Years' War in Europe, the French and Indian War in America — was over. In the long struggle for the continent of America, the English had won at last.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. Acadia had been under English rule since 1713. The Acadians, however, were not willing to submit to their new rulers. In 1755 the English sent soldiers to Acadia. Under their direction the people were put on board ship, and carried away from their homes to the English colonies.

2. After two years of fighting in America, war was at last declared by England against France. This brought about a great European war, of which the American struggle became only a part.

3. After two years of French success, the tide turned in favor of the English. During 1758 much of the Ohio Valley was reclaimed for England.

4. In 1759 the war was carried into Canada. Quebec was besieged and taken by General Wolfe. This victory really decided the war in favor of the English.

5. England gained some important victories in the European war. France became willing to make peace.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Montcalm and Wolfe," Parkman, Vol. I, pp. 234-284.
2. "Old Times in the Colonies," Coffin, pp. 374-380, 437-453.
3. "Grandfather's Chair," Hawthorne, Part II, Chapter VIII.
4. "Evangeline," Longfellow.
5. "Stories of New France," Machar and Marquis, pp. 264-304.
6. "Speech of Pontiac," in the Old South Leaflets.
7. "With Wolfe in Canada," Henty.
8. "American Hero Stories," Tappan, pp. 126-143.
9. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 181-196.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *loyal*, *subjects*, *heretics*, *oath of allegiance*, *decreed*, *turid*, *peasants*, *hamlet*, *citadel*, *achievement*, *conspiracy*.
2. Discuss in class: —
 - (1) Were the English cruel and unjust in their treatment of the Acadians, or did the Acadians deserve the treatment they received?
 - (2) What were the reasons for the final failure of the French?
3. Study the Chronological Chart of the struggle between England and France in America in appendix. You have already learned 1689 as the date of the beginning of the struggle. You should now learn 1763 as the year which marks the end of French power in the New World.
4. Find out what you can about Quebec. If possible, obtain pictures of the city for your notebook.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Write about: The Removal of the Acadians.
The people of Acadia; their homes; how the province came under English rule; the feeling of the people toward the English; the part taken in the trouble by the French officers of Church and State in Canada; the punishment of the Acadians.
2. Make a map on which you show all of the places taken from the French in 1758 and 1759.
3. Obtain and mount a copy of Benjamin West's picture of the death of Wolfe. Write beneath it a short account of the career of this great general.

VIII

LOOKING BEYOND THE TREATY

FRANCE	ENGLAND	SPAIN
<p><i>Gave</i> to <i>England</i>, all territory east of the Mississippi, except New Orleans; to <i>Spain</i>, all the province of Louisiana not given to <i>England</i>.</p>	<p><i>Gave</i> to <i>Spain</i>, Havana.</p>	<p><i>Gave</i> to <i>England</i>, Florida.</p>
<p><i>Retained</i> West India Islands and two small islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.</p>	<p><i>Retained</i> all former possessions.</p>	<p><i>Retained</i> all former possessions in America except Florida.</p>
<p><i>Received</i> nothing.</p>	<p><i>Received</i> from <i>France</i>, all the territory east of the Mississippi except New Orleans. from <i>Spain</i>, Florida.</p>	<p><i>Received</i> Louisiana west of the Mississippi, and New Orleans.</p>

No great war can come to an end without leaving behind it more and greater results than can be seen in the treaty which marks its close. So we must look for the results of the war whose story we have just laid aside.

Looking upon the map which shows the American possessions of France, England, and Spain in 1763, it is easy for us to see that the days of French power in the New World are at an end.



America at the Close of the Last French War

With her vast territory divided between her friend Spain and her enemy England, France must seek a new field for colonization, and will trouble North America no more.

Spain and England, then, are left to share the continent. Shall we compare them for a moment? Spain, never having recovered her old power in Europe since the defeat of the Invincible Armada, was at this time a rival little to be feared. You will remember that the Spanish settlements in what is now the United States were few and feeble. The gradual decline of Spanish power made them still feebler. By exchanging Havana for Florida at the close of the war, England secured peace and security for her southern colonies, and made the whole Atlantic coast her own.

In proportion as Spain had been growing weaker during the last century, England had been growing stronger; and there was little doubt that she was the most powerful nation in the world. This fact could not but establish one of equal importance, — it was to be the English language, English customs, English laws, and English people, with all their sturdy, freedom-loving traits, that were to flourish in this western world. It was the colonies that could make their own laws that were to thrive. It was these colonies that were to govern and control the continent of North America. And now that the enemies of the English colonies had been removed, we shall see how rapidly the love of self-government asserted itself.

The war time had been a time of great growth for all the colonies. Never before had the colonists taken part in affairs of such real importance. Never before had they fought with bodies of men large enough to be called armies. Never before had the assemblies voted on such important questions, or levied and collected such heavy taxes. And never before had they dared so obstinately to oppose the will of their royal governors, and thus indirectly the will of the king. They were growing stronger and bolder — they dared to think and to speak their thoughts.

These, then, were the people who were to enter on the next

great conflict — for the shadow of a new war was already hanging over America, a war that was to make Americans of the colonists, and a new nation in the New World.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The disappearance of French power in America left the continent to England and Spain. Spain was now a rival little to be feared. England was at this time the most powerful nation in the world.

2. The people of the English colonies grew stronger because of their part in these colonial wars.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *levied*.
2. Discuss the questions: Why was the victory of the English important to the world? Why was their victory important to the English colonists?
3. Learn the dates of the last French war, 1754–1763.
4. Find out what you can about Francis Parkman, the historian, who has given us the best accounts of the French in North America.

OUTLINE

II. The Struggle between France and England in the New World, 1689–1763.

A. The early wars (King William's, Queen Anne's, King George's). Causes; results.

B. The last French war.

1. Cause.
2. Important events.
 - a. The building of Fort Duquesne.
 - b. First bloodshed.
 - c. Braddock's plans; his defeat; his death.
 - d. The removal of the Acadians.
 - e. The war becomes a European conflict.
 - f. English successes; capture of Quebec.
3. Peace. The treaty.
4. Why the victory of the English was important to the world.
5. Why it was important to the English colonists.

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

IX

THE SHADOW OF WAR

THE danger of French control in America was past, and other questions which had been overshadowed by this danger were not long in coming to the front. The constant quarrels between assemblies and royal governors had already borne fruit. The assemblies were upheld by the colonists, while the governors made constant and bitter complaints to the Lords of Trade — the men in whose hands the general oversight of the colonists had been placed by Parliament. The Lords of Trade came to consider the Americans as a quarrelsome people. The colonists chafed continually under the control of the Lords of Trade.

The Navigation Acts were a source of constant trouble. As far back as 1645 the home government had begun to control American commerce, and again and again had added Navigation to the laws on the subject. By these laws (1) all Acts colonial trade was to be carried on in ships built or owned in England, or in the colonies themselves. That is, the colonists were not to allow the cargo of a Spanish, a French, or a Dutch ship to be brought to America to be sold, nor to sell goods to the owners of such a ship to be carried to Europe.

(2) A long list of colonial products was made; these products the colonists were forbidden to send to any except English ports. That is, no tobacco nor sugar could be sent to Holland or France, no matter how large a quantity the colonists had to sell, or how good prices they might be offered in those countries. If the planters had more tobacco to sell than was required by the

English market, they could not sell it at all, according to the law. This seemed, and no doubt was, a great hardship to the people.

(3) All European goods must be bought in England; indeed, even colonial goods sent from one colony to another must, if they were goods which might have been bought in England, be taken to that country first, and then brought back to the colony for which they were intended; or, if this was not done, a duty must be paid to the home government on the goods.

(4) The colonists were forbidden to import sugar and molasses from any place except the British West Indies, without paying a tax upon them. This, of course, cut off much of the colonial trade with the Spanish and French West Indies, and the colonists protested loudly.

Many of the merchants and shipowners of America — especially in New England — broke these laws over and over again. Goods from Holland were often cheaper, and sometimes better, than those from England, and the thrifty New Englanders always wanted to get their money's worth. So smuggling became common, and it was often quite impossible to find out where it was going on.

The laws had never been rigidly enforced, but in 1761 a serious effort was made to have them observed. In that year a custom-house officer in Boston asked for and received papers giving him permission to search houses for smuggled goods. These papers were called Writs of Assistance. The people of Boston were indignant over the issuing of the writs; they really were unjust, since they were general search warrants, giving the officer a right to enter any house he chose, whether he had any evidence of smuggled goods there or not. James Otis, of Boston, made a speech about it, in which he said many bold things. But the writs were issued, nevertheless.

After the end of the French war a new cause for disagreement came up. It was decided in Parliament to send a force of ten thousand soldiers to America, and to keep them there in case of

attack by England's enemies in some later war. The colonists were not pleased with this plan. They did not want the English soldiers in the country. And when they were informed that a small tax was to be laid by Parliament upon the colonies to help support these soldiers, they were not only displeased, but angry. Parliament had never before taxed the colonies; whenever money had been required from them, the colonial assemblies had attended to the matter.

The tax was to take the form of a stamp duty. All papers, such as deeds, mortgages, marriage certificates,—even almanacs and newspapers,—must have a stamp placed on The Stamp Act, 1765 them, or be written on stamped paper made in England. Stamps and paper were to be on sale everywhere. This law, known as the Stamp Act, was passed by Parliament in 1765.

Immediately great excitement was aroused in the colonies. "What right," said the colonists, "has Parliament to tax us? We have no members in Parliament. Let our own assemblies, to which we send representatives, lay our taxes. If we must give money to support these soldiers, let Parliament ask our assemblies for a grant. We will do our part. But taxation without representation is not just!"

There were men in England who believed that the colonists were right; some of these men were members of Parliament, and they voted against the Stamp Act.

But these friends of America in England were fewer than those who upheld the Parliament; while in America those who believed that Americans had no right to protest against laws made for them by Parliament were fewer than those who took the other side of the question.

It soon became clear that the stamp tax could not be so "easily and quietly raised" as had been supposed by its advocates. Indeed, anything less quiet than the behavior of the colonists can scarcely be imagined. The assemblies of the various colonies passed solemn protests against the act, and appointed delegates

to a convention to consider the question. Meanwhile, riots occurred in Boston and New York, images of the officers appointed to sell the stamps were burned, and other acts of violence were committed. In some places the stamps were burned or thrown into the sea. The "Sons of Liberty," secret societies formed to uphold colonial rights, suggested that Americans stop buying British goods, and the idea met with much favor.

The "Stamp Act Congress" met in New York in October. Almost all of the colonies were represented, and in most cases by their ablest men. The feeling in favor of united action by the colonies had grown since the days of the Albany Convention in 1754. "There ought to be no New England man, no New Yorker, known on the continent: but all of us Americans," said one of the delegates. A "Declaration of Rights" was drawn up to be sent to the home government, and the Congress adjourned, after resolving that all the colonies must stand by one another, whatever misfortunes might come.

It began to be seen in Parliament that their "quiet little stamp duty" was raising a tempest about their ears. Many of the members wished to repeal the act, and the question was fiercely debated. At last it was voted to repeal it, and great was the joy in America when the news came. It is said that the people of London, many of whom sympathized with the colonists, were rejoiced at the victory of their kinsmen over the sea. William Pitt, who was strongly in favor of the American ideas in regard to "taxation without representation," was loudly cheered as he passed along the streets.

The quarrel was over, it seemed, and the colonists were ready to forgive and forget. And so passed the first shadow of war.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The Navigation Acts passed from time to time by Parliament interfered seriously with American commerce.
2. To evade these laws, smuggling became common. The laws were not rigidly enforced until nearly the close of the French war. Then

"Writs of Assistance" were issued to Boston custom-house officers. The people were very indignant.

3. After the French war the home government decided to keep ten thousand soldiers in America. The colonists strongly opposed this.

4. To help support these soldiers, Parliament planned to tax the colonists. The Stamp Act was passed in 1765. The colonists protested loudly against the Stamp Act. There were riots because of it. Parliament repealed the act the next year. But it still asserted its right to tax the colonies.

5. The feeling against the Stamp Act did much to increase the sentiment of union and united action in the colonists. They all objected to "taxation without representation."

THINGS TO READ

1. "The War of Independence," Fiske, pp. 1-58.
2. "A Short History of the Revolution," Tomlinson, pp. 1-21.
3. "Grandfather's Chair," Hawthorne, Part III, Chapters II and III
4. "Stories of the Old Bay State," E. S. Brooks, pp. 109-117.
5. "From Colony to Commonwealth," Tiffany, pp. 19-38.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *navigation, duty, import, smuggling, deed, mortgage, riots, violence, declaration, repeal*.

2. There are many questions concerning this chapter which it will be well for you to discuss in class. Below are some of them:—

(1) Are people justified in breaking laws they consider unjust, as the colonists did in smuggling goods?

(2) What are the dangers of riots? Have they advantages? Do they ever occur now?

(3) At the time of the Spanish War the American Congress laid a stamp duty. Why was it not opposed by the people?

3. Prepare yourself to write a clear answer to the question: What is meant by "taxation without representation"?

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. The Navigation Acts.

(Write as clearly as possible what these laws required.)

2. The Stamp Act.

This law was made by — in the year —. It required that —. Its purpose was to raise money for use —.

The colonists opposed it, because —. They showed their disapproval by — and —. The act was repealed by Parliament in —, because —. Parliament, however, still claimed the right to —.

X

KING GEORGE AND HIS FRIENDS

**New taxes —
the Town-
shend Acts,
1767** THE good feeling produced in America and among America's friends in England by the repeal of the Stamp Act did not last long. Few of the members of Parliament understood that any plan of taxing the colonies was likely to fail. A few far-seeing men like Pitt and Edmund Burke and Colonel Barre could see that it was the familiar English principle of self-government that the colonists wished to preserve; and they warned Parliament to let the whole question alone. But Parliament would not be advised. In 1767 a new taxation act was passed. Duties were placed upon glass, painters' colors, and other materials, also upon paper and tea.

Once more there was excitement in America, but this time there were no riots. The trouble was evidently too deep to be reached by "mob law." There was, however, plenty of opposition, although it was not of a violent kind. The assemblies drew up protests against the law, while the people at large resolved once more to stop buying British goods. Some money was paid in duties to the custom officers, but the amount was so small and the cost of collecting it so great that, like the Stamp Act, the plan had to be given up. But while Parliament promised to repeal the rest of the act, the tax on tea was kept to show that Parliament still maintained the right to levy taxes if it chose.

**Influence of
the English
king,
George III** Since 1688, when the throne of England had been taken from James II and given to William and Mary, Parliament had really ruled the country. But there was now on the English throne a king who was not satisfied to be anything less than a real ruler. He took an active

part in political affairs. He set to work to make friends among the members of Parliament.

Whom do you think he chose for his friends? The wisest and best men of England? No, for if they were wise and honest, they would not be willing to be led by the king, but would wish to be leaders themselves. So the "king's friends," as they came to be known, were usually the weaker men, who would do just as the king wished, or even bad men, who cared nothing for right and wrong, but wanted to be in favor with the king.

It was one of the "king's friends" who proposed the tax on tea, glass, and the other articles; and the king was perhaps the loudest of any in saying that the colonists must be made to see that Parliament could rule them in any and every way. There was one reason why the king and his followers were anxious to have this question of taxation and representation in the colonies settled. If it were once decided that Parliament could make laws for people who had no representatives in Parliament, it might also settle a troublesome question at home. For there were in England itself many thousands of people who elected no representatives to Parliament. No change had been made in the assignment of members for two centuries, and in that time many new towns — large towns, some of them, such as Leeds and Birmingham and Manchester — had sprung up, and had no members in Parliament at all. On the other hand, some members in Parliament represented old towns which had dwindled away until there were no voters left to elect a representative. These places were sometimes called "rotten boroughs," and the men who represented them usually obtained their seats in Parliament because they paid money to the men who owned the land. Thus the British Parliament no longer truly represented the people, and many men in England were demanding reform.

Taxation without representation in England

For many reasons King George wished no reform. He preferred Parliament as it was; whether the people were truly represented

or not did not disturb him. "Taxation without representation" seemed to him perfectly proper if by it he could gain his own ends. So we find the king and his friends in Parliament always against the colonists on this question, and from this time on it is really the king and his friends who are responsible for the coming of war. The two great political parties at this time were the Whigs and the Tories. The king's friends were chiefly among the Tories, so the Tory party became the war party, and the Whigs the champions of American liberty. The names Whig and Tory soon came into use in America — Whigs for American rights, Tories for loyalty to the king and the British Parliament.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. Parliament passed a new taxation act the year after the repeal of the Stamp Act. It placed a duty on many articles imported into America. After much opposition in America to the law, Parliament removed the tax from all the articles except tea.

2. The English king at this time was George III. He wished to have more power than English kings had had since James II was driven from the throne.

3. The question of "taxation without representation" concerned England as well as America. There were many towns in England not represented in Parliament. The king and his friends in the Tory party did not wish these towns to have representatives.

4. For this reason they opposed the Americans in their struggle for liberty. If the American demands were refused, it would help to settle the question at home.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *majority*, *mob law*, *political*, *cabinet*, *assignment*.

2. Discuss the questions: Why did Parliament keep the tax on tea? What harm can it do for a government to admit that it is wrong, and take back its acts?

3. Prepare a portfolio to contain pictures illustrating the Revolution. Cut sheets of light-weight mounting paper (tailors' draughting paper answers well and is not expensive) 7 by 10 inches. Punch holes in one of the short sides for a cord. Letter some appropriate title on the cover. Do it all so neatly that when the year's work is over you will be glad to keep the portfolio as a memento of your study.

XI

REDCOATS IN BOSTON

THE members of Parliament were now determined to have their own will, and they showed this determination in several disagreeable ways. The soldiers whom they had planned to send for the defense of the colonies had never come; ^{Troops sent to Boston,} but now two regiments were ordered to Boston in the ¹⁷⁶⁸ autumn of 1768 to enforce the Townshend Acts. The king and Parliament regarded Massachusetts as the "hotbed of rebellion."

The people of the town were ordered to find quarters for the troops. The town officers offered the old barracks at Castle William to the commander of the soldiers, but he refused to send the soldiers there. The town officers were firm in refusing quarters in the town, and finally tents were pitched on the Common, and the soldiers had to content themselves with camp life. When the weather became too cold, buildings were hired for them at the king's expense. Thus the people gained at least a partial victory.

How those soldiers hated the people of Boston! And how the people hated the soldiers! The soldiers would swagger along the streets when off duty, crowding against the passers-by, exchanging threats and insults with the rougher class of men, and "paying back" the boys who worried and tormented them. On quiet Sundays they would shock the people with their noisy drunken songs and laughter. Trouble was sure to come, and come it did.

Quarrels between soldiers and citizens were becoming common. One night, when the soldiers had been a year and a half in the town, one of these affairs took place in which James Otis, the

brilliant young Boston lawyer, was involved. Otis was so severely beaten by a party of British officers that he afterward lost his mind. Street quarrels took place over trifles or over nothing at all. There began to be much excitement in the town.

On an evening early in March, 1770, a large crowd gathered near the soldiers' quarters. There was much loud talk by both soldiers and citizens, and soon snowballs and sticks were flying. The soldiers were ordered into the barracks, and the crowd turned to torment the sentinel who was pacing back and forth in the snow-covered street. Cap-

tain Preston, the officer of the day, thinking the sentinel might need assistance, crossed the street with seven soldiers. There, drawn up in line, they faced the angry crowd. The sight of the soldiers seemed to destroy what little self-control the men in the crowd had. Taunts and insults flew faster than before. Suddenly in the midst of the clamor, gunshots rang out. In an instant the noise was hushed. Nearly a dozen forms lay prostrate on the snow. The clamor broke forth again, and this time the cry was that murder had been done. With one accord the crowd dashed upon the soldiers, but the governor had already arrived to arrest Captain Preston and his men. The soldiers were led away. The bodies of the

Old Statehouse in Boston
As it looks to-day. The massacre took
place just before this building.

four dead and seven wounded men were borne to their homes. The "Boston Massacre" was over.

Probably the best-known man in Boston at this time was

Samuel Adams. He was the central figure in the excitement that followed the Boston Massacre. At the great mass meeting held next day in the Old South Meetinghouse, he was the leading spirit. He insisted that the soldiers must be removed, and the governor was finally obliged to order them withdrawn. At first the governor agreed to remove only one of the regiments; but Adams, expecting this, had passed the watchword "Both regiments or none" among the crowd, so that when the question was put to vote, a deafening shout went up, "Both regiments or none!" And the governor had to agree.

Great was the indignation in Parliament over the affair. It was proposed that Samuel Adams be brought to England to answer there for his "crimes." It is said that they called the two regiments in Boston "the Sam Adams regiments."

Whose was the fault of the Boston Massacre? Was it a massacre at all? How was it different from any other street fight in which men have been wounded or killed? These are questions which both then and now have received many and various answers. To the quiet people of Boston, massacre seemed none too strong a name for it. To them it seemed, also, that the fault was all with the soldiers. In England they would have told you that the unruly people of Boston should bear all the blame. It is difficult to say that the responsibility lies here or there. Most of us will decide to leave the question an open one. But one thing we may say, that the Boston Massacre produced a feeling in the people of Boston which was not easily forgotten, and which made excellent soil for the springing up of revolutionary ideas.

Sam Adams

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. Parliament sent soldiers to Boston, which was considered the center of rebellious notions.
2. There was much quarreling between the soldiers and the people.
3. In a street fight some soldiers fired into the crowd, killing and wounding a number of people. This is known as the Boston Massacre.
4. The people of Boston were very indignant. They demanded the removal of the soldiers, and the governor was obliged to comply.

THINGS TO READ

1. "The War of Independence," Fiske, pp. 71-75.
2. "Grandfather's Chair," Hawthorne, Part III, Chapters IV and V.
3. "From Colony to Commonwealth," Tiffany, pp. 39-49.
4. "Stories of the Old Bay State," Brooks, pp. 118-126.
5. "Colonial Massachusetts," Dawes, pp. 42-50.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *quarters*, *barracks*, *citizens*, *prostrate*, *mass meeting*, *responsibility*.
2. Place in your portfolio pictures of the Boston Massacre, Faneuil Hall, the Old South Church, and the Old Statehouse, before which the Massacre took place; also a portrait of Samuel Adams.
3. Imagine yourself to be a Boston boy in 1770, the year of the Massacre. Imagine that you saw the whole affair. Write an account of it, as you might have told it to your mother on your return home.
4. Discuss: Who should be blamed for the Massacre?
5. If you live near Boston, try to see the place where the Massacre occurred, the Old Statehouse, the Old South Church, and the monument erected in memory of the victims of the Massacre.

XII

THE WAR CLOUD GATHERS

GOING back once more to the question of taxation, we remember that by the latest act of Parliament there was left only the tax on tea. It was a very small tax, and if it had been a question of money alone, probably the colonists would have paid it without protest. But it was not a question of money alone, and the colonists were as quick to resent a small tax laid by Parliament as a large one.

Once more the English government had mistaken the American people. Once more the American people were showing the determination which had made the Pilgrim, the hardy backwoodsman of Virginia, the sturdy Dutchman of New York, the Quaker of Pennsylvania, what he was. Everywhere in the colonies the people said, "We will buy no tea."

The king was taking with each succeeding year a larger part in the government. He had succeeded in getting a prime minister, Lord North, who was willing in all things to follow the king's wishes. In fact, some one has said that during the years of Lord North's holding office "the king was his own prime minister."

"And so the Americans will buy no tea! We must see about that," thinks the king. "Tea is spoiling in the storehouses of the East India Company because of the falling off of American trade! And the East India Company may be ruined all because of those rebellious colonists of ours! Something must be done!" And the king makes a plan.

According to this plan, tea was to be sold so cheaply to Americans that even with the tax added, the price would still be lower

than that of tea from Holland, which was now being smuggled into the colonies. Ships were loaded and sent out by the East India

Tea ships sent from England, 1773	Company to several of the larger seaports in America in the autumn of 1773. Letters were sent appointing some one to receive the tea in each of these places, and the king confidently expected success for his plan.
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When the news reached America that tea ships were on the way to the principal American ports, there was stronger feeling than at any time since the passage of the Stamp Act. In Philadelphia, Charleston, and New York the people appointed to receive the tea were forced to resign, but those in Boston refused to do so. What should be done? Many town meetings were held, and advice was asked from many sister towns. The answer of all was: "Stand firm. Do not allow the tea to be put on shore."

At last the ships made their appearance. The time for standing firm had arrived. The captains and the owners of the ships were asked to send them back, without unloading, to England. They replied that they could not do so, but if the colonists would permit them to put the tea on shore, they would see that none was sold until word could be received from England. This was not enough, and a constant watch was kept upon the wharf, where the ships lay, lest an attempt should be made to put the tea on shore.

John Fiske, who has written a history of the time, says, "Sentinels were placed in the church belfries, chosen postriders, with horses saddled and bridled, were ready to alarm the neighboring towns, beacon fires were piled all ready for lighting upon every hilltop, and any attempt to land the tea forcibly would have been the signal for an instant uprising throughout at least four counties." They were in earnest, these men of Boston.

Attempts were made, again and again, to get permission from the custom-house officers for the ships to sail without unloading. The officers refused. At last a great mass meeting was held in

the Old South Meetinghouse. The owner of one of the ships was sent to ask the governor for a pass for his ship. The meeting would wait. The afternoon wore away. Speeches were made, votes taken. It was resolved that whatever the governor's reply, the tea should not be put on shore. It grew dusky — now it was dark. Candles were brought in, and cast their flickering, uncertain light among the shadows. The assembly grew quiet. Now a bustle of enteringmen tells that the ship-owner has returned. The governor's answer? It is "No." Then Samuel Adams, in a calm voice, which nevertheless reaches every corner of the dimly lighted room, says, "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country."

What is that — a war whoop? It seems almost as though the word of the patriot leader The Boston had been a signal, the Tea Party, sound follows so close 1773

upon it. Whose are those dusky forms marching so silently by the church and down to the wharf? Have Indian days come again in Boston? Now they board the ships — chest after chest of tea is handed up from the hold. Hatchets splinter the frail wood, and the tea is unloaded — into the sea! Scarcely a sound is heard from the crowd gathered upon the wharf, and on board the ships everything is quiet save the sound of the hatchets and the soft rustle of the tea leaves as they find their way to the surface of the water. Now it is over.

Old South Church, Boston

The ships are unloaded at last. The "Indians," who are really Boston citizens in Indian dress, leave the ships and disappear in the crowd. And this is the "Boston Tea Party."

Was this "tea party" a riot? Was it the act of lawless men, who, forgetting that might does not make right, attempted to gain by force what they should have sought by law? Shall we class it as an "act of violence," "an outrage," as some historians

have done? Or shall we say with Fiske, "the moment for using force had at last, and through no fault of theirs, arrived; they had reached a point where the written law had failed them"?

Whatever our opinion may be, there is no doubt as to what the king and his ministers thought of it. "A fitting end to years of riot and lawlessness," said Lord North; and in spite of the protests of Edmund Burke, who made a great speech in the House of Commons, and of Fox, Barre, and other men who saw the dangers into which the government was blindly stumbling, Parliament proceeded to punish the "lawless town." The port of Boston was ordered closed to all vessels until the town should

pay the East India Company for the tea destroyed. The government of Massachusetts was put entirely into the hands of the royal governor. Discussion of any subject in town meeting was forbidden.

Faneull Hall

Still standing in Boston and known as the "Cradle of Liberty."

Parliament now passed several laws relating to American affairs. By one of these, the port of Boston was entirely closed to commerce. With the passage of these "Intolerable Acts," as they were known in 1774 America, the last possibility of a peaceable settlement of the quarrel seemed to have disappeared.

There was a general feeling in Parliament that the Americans, as they soon came to be called, could be easily frightened into submission. General Gage, who was at home for a visit, boasted

that with four regiments he could very shortly make an end of the whole trouble. Parliament seems to have taken him at his word. Under the new law he was made governor of the rebellious colony of Massachusetts, and speedily embarked with his four regiments for Boston. As soon as he arrived, the Port Bill went into effect.

Scarcely any punishment could have been harder for the people of Boston to bear. Commerce was Boston's chief industry.

Effect of Without it there could not fail to be hardship and
The Boston suffering. But we know the people well enough by
Port Bill this time to feel sure that they would endure the hardship rather than submit to what they considered injustice.

Quite contrary to the opinion of the king and his followers, sympathy for Boston was quickly expressed, not only by surround-

ing towns, but by all the colonies. The people of Virginia or New York could not tell what day their own liberties might be attacked. "Boston is suffering for us all," they thought. "If Boston is subdued, it will be our turn next. We must help Boston to resist these unjust laws." And so droves of cattle were sent to Boston, and provisions of all sorts, as free gifts to the people. Of course nothing could come by sea. The gifts were sent either by land, or, if by water, were landed at Marblehead or Salem. These towns had offered the use of their wharves to Boston merchants quite free of charge.



Patrick Henry of Virginia, who had become known at the time of the Stamp Act as a fearless advocate of American rights, now made a speech in the Virginia assembly which roused the

whole country. He cried: "The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already Patrick in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is Henry's famous speech it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but, as for me, GIVE ME LIBERTY OR GIVE ME DEATH!" The excitement was intense.

It was decided that a Congress should be called to discuss affairs in Massachusetts, as had been done in the time of the Stamp Act. Massachusetts was invited to appoint the time and place for the meeting. Philadelphia was selected, and there on the 5th of September, 1774, came together what is known as the First Continental Congress. All the colonies except Georgia sent delegates, and Georgia agreed to indorse whatever the Congress might do.

John Adams

Each colony sent her ablest men. We find on the list of members not only Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry and George Washington, of whom we have already heard, but John Adams, John Jay, Richard Henry Lee, and others of whom the world has heard many times since that day.

"And what did the Congress do?" you are thinking. What could it do? It was not a lawmaking body. Its office was not government. It had come together to protest against the action of the English government, and that is what it did. A "Declaration of Rights" was passed. An address to the people of England was drawn up, and another to the king. Then the members

agreed that they would buy no British goods, and after appointing a second Congress to meet the next May, if affairs had not improved, the Congress adjourned on October 26. Probably the greatest good done by its meeting had been the increase of good feeling among the various colonies. They were now ready to work together for a common cause.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. There was still a tax on all tea imported into America. For this reason the colonists would buy no tea.

2. Several ships, loaded with tea, were sent to America by the East India Company. None of this tea was bought by Americans. In Boston the people refused to allow it to be landed. When the custom-house officers refused the request of the people that the ships should be sent back to England without being unloaded, a band of Boston citizens, disguised as Indians, boarded the ships, broke open the tea chests, and poured the tea into the harbor. This act is known as the Boston Tea Party.

3. Parliament now passed five laws relating to American affairs; all of these laws angered the colonists.

4. The Boston Port Bill, one of these five laws, closing the port of Boston, caused great suffering in the city.

5. The people of the whole country grew bitter in their feeling toward the home government. A Congress was called to consider what might be done. A closer sympathy grew among the colonies.

THINGS TO READ

1. "American Leaders and Heroes," Gordy, pp. 146-163.
2. "Stories of New Jersey," Stockton, pp. 93-101.
3. "The American Revolution," Fiske, pp. 85-90.
4. "The Story of the Revolution," Lodge, pp. 1-12.
5. "The War of Independence," Fiske, pp. 75-87.
6. "Early American Orations," pp. 50-54. (Patrick Henry's speech.)
7. "Stories of the Old Dominion," Cooke, pp. 158-179.
8. "Colonial Massachusetts," Dawes, pp. 51-60.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *post-riders, beacon fires, outrage, submission, indorse, adjourned, intolerable*.
2. Describe as clearly as possible the king's plan for overcoming the objection of the Americans to paying the tax on tea. Tell why it failed.
3. Find out the duties of custom-house officers in regard to ships which enter or leave a port. Why are such rules necessary?
4. Review the events which mark the growing feeling of resentment between colonists and English government. Prepare yourself to recite on (1) Navigation Acts; (2) Smuggling in the colonies; (3) Writs of Assistance; (4) The Stamp Act: passed, its object, opposition, repeal; (5) British soldiers in Boston, and the Massacre; (6) New Taxation Acts and their result; (7) The Tea Tax and the Tea Party.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS POINTING TOWARD WAR

- 1645–1696. Navigation Acts.
- 1761. Writs of Assistance.
- 1765. The Stamp Act.
- 1766. The Stamp Act repealed.
- 1767. The Townshend Revenue Acts.
- 1768. Quartering of troops in Boston.
- 1770. The Boston Massacre.
- 1773. The Boston Tea Party.
- 1774. The "Five Intolerable Acts." The First Continental Congress.

XIII

THE STORM BREAKS

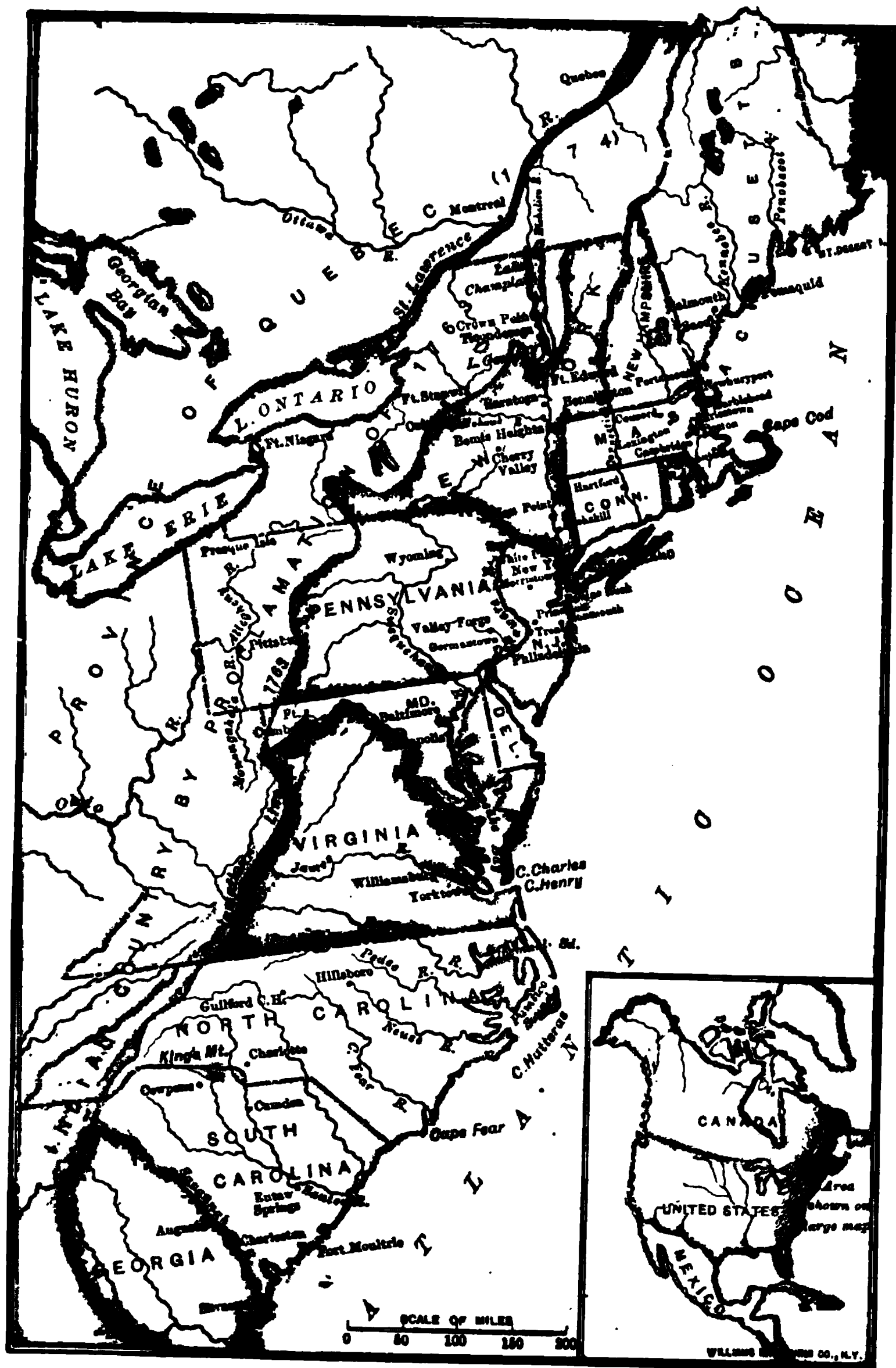
INSTEAD of being frightened into submission by General Gage and his four regiments, it began to look as if the people of Massachusetts were even daring to think of resistance with guns and swords, if need be. There was, indeed, scarcely a village in all New England in which military preparations might not be seen. All through the fall and

winter the militia companies were drilled. Certain men in each company were set apart as "minutemen." These were to hold themselves ready "at a minute's notice" to drop plow or ax or hammer, to spring from their beds at midnight if need be, when the alarm should come. For the colonists were waiting for General Gage's soldiers to strike the first blow. Hand in hand with the drilling of the militia went the gathering of military stores. This was slow work, for ammunition

was not easy to obtain, safe places for storage were hard to find, and General Gage was on the alert.

In the winter, orders had been sent to Gage to seize Samuel Adams and his friend, John Hancock, another Boston patriot

A large, elegant, handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "John Hancock". The signature is written in dark ink and features a prominent, sweeping flourish that extends from the end of the name.



The Colonies at the Outbreak of the Revolution

whose deeds were rousing the wrath of the king and his friends. Adams and Hancock were to be sent to England to be tried there for their misdeeds. Gage found it a little hard to carry out these orders, but at last he believed his opportunity had

come, when he heard that the two friends would pass the night of April 18 in the village of Lexington, eighteen miles from Boston.

General Gage planned a double expedition. Eight hundred men were to set out by night, and, if possible, without the knowledge of the townspeople. Going first to Lexington, they were to seize the rebel leaders. Then they were to march to Concord, a

Gage's expedition to Lexington and Concord, April 18, 1775

neighboring village, where they were to destroy the military stores which General Gage knew the colonists had been collecting there.

The night of the 18th came. The British soldiers silently formed outside the barracks, and as silently began their march.

Warning
given by
Paul Revere
and William
Dawes

But stealthy watchers, who were Sons of Liberty, saw every movement, and the soldiers were not the only men to leave Boston

that night. While the "regulars" were marching, at first cautiously, with no sound but hushed footfalls, then, when the town lay like a heavy shadow behind them, more freely and with heavier tread, two horsemen were speeding along two lonely country roads, — William Dawes and Paul Revere, — going out to warn Adams and Hancock to escape their would-be captors, and to give the alarm in Lexington and Concord, that the minutemen might be assembled and the stores safely hidden from prying British eyes.

The Old North Church

From which a signal was shown to Paul Revere. Now known as Christ Church.

On through the dark night they rode, and wherever either paused to shout his message of alarm, lights began to twinkle in farmhouse windows, doors to clatter, and hastily dressed men to appear and hurry off into the night. Soon bells began to ring, adding their notes of alarm to the unusual disturbance. Dawes and Revere met at Lexington, and, together with a third horseman, hurried on to warn the people along the road to Concord and in Concord village itself. Their work was well done — to realize how well, we must wait until the story of the day just breaking in the east is done.

It is sunrise. When the first rays shine upon the green in Lexington, they fall on fifty or sixty Lexington minutemen, with a brave Fight at
 oldsoldier Lexington,
 who had April 19,
 been with 1775

Wolfe at Quebec, at their head. They show dusty columns of red-coated soldiers just coming in sight along the road; they will soon disclose the first bloodshed of the American Revolution.

"Stand your ground. Don't fire unless you

are fired upon," says Captain Parker to the minutemen; "but," and I fancy his face grows stern as he speaks, "if they want a war, it may as well begin here." The redcoats are close at hand, with Major Pitcairn at their head. "Disperse, ye rebels, disperse,"

Lexington Common

Stone marking line of minutemen.

he cries. The minutemen stand firm. Angrily Pitcairn repeats his command, and follows it by an order to his men to fire. They hesitate. The major fires his own pistol. Then the muskets of the regulars ring out, and the minutemen are beginning to return the shots. But Parker orders them back — the fight is too unequal. Eight men are killed, and ten wounded. The war has begun!

Adams and Hancock cannot be found, and there is nothing to keep the soldiers longer in Lexington. The first part of the expedition is a failure. They hurry on to Concord to destroy the stores. Here again failure awaits them. The stores, like the rebel leaders, have disappeared. A few cannon and some barrels of flour are all the soldiers can find. These they destroy, and are busy chopping down the liberty pole and setting fire to the courthouse, when something not in the British plan happens.

While the sun has been creeping higher in the blue April sky, minutemen have been hurrying to Concord from all the countryside. There are now more than four hundred of them gathered on the hill just over the river from the village. Two hundred British soldiers guard the

The Minuteman at Concord bridge across the river. The minutemen sweep down upon them. There is firing on both sides. The minutemen charge across the little bridge. The redcoats yield — are driven back. The bridge is won. The minutemen rest on their arms. The soldiers fall back into Concord village.

It is noon. The soldiers are beginning their march back to Boston. The things they were sent to do they have not accomplished. They are tired and hungry; but they dare not rest,

for the country seems swarming with minutemen. They must get back to the shelter of the men-of-war in Boston harbor. Even now as they start muskets begin to rattle, and an occasional ball to fall among them. As they march along the road the minutemen follow through neighboring fields and orchards. Behind trees, kneeling in the shadow of the stone walls, — everywhere,

The Struggle at Concord Bridge

it seems to the tired and confused soldiers, — the rebels await them. They must march faster. Now they turn and fire a volley against their almost unseen pursuers. Now on again — all order is lost. The British soldiers are flying for their lives.

It is two o'clock. The soldiers have reached Lexington. Here they are met by Lord Percy with twelve hundred men. These are formed into a hollow square, in which the exhausted men are inclosed, and shut away from their pursuers. After an hour's

rest, the march is resumed. The old story is repeated. So large is the number of Americans swarming before, alongside, behind the soldiers, that one officer says, "It seems as though they have dropped from the clouds." Faster and faster go the troops, and no attempt is made to keep the order of the lines. Again it is a flight for life.

It is sunset. The troops are at last in sight of Charlestown and the protection of the men-of-war. They are running now at full speed. The road for miles back is strewn with dead and wounded, but there is no time to stop for them. Muskets are thrown away, and the scarlet coats are powdered with dust and spattered with mire. At last the town is reached and the shelter of the guns.

The day of Lexington and Concord is done. It has been only a little battle, scarcely a skirmish, but a great day for the world. It is the people's day, and it means that in years to come it shall be the people who will rule the world.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The colonists began preparations for a possible war. Companies of militia were drilled, and military stores collected.
2. General Gage planned an expedition to Lexington and Concord, to capture Samuel Adams and John Hancock, and to destroy American military stores.
3. The British soldiers left Boston on the night of April 18, 1775. The following morning they exchanged shots with a party of minutemen assembled on Lexington green. Later, in Concord, the British were attacked by several hundred minutemen, who drove the British back, and who followed them all the way back to Boston, so that the British retreat became really a flight for life.
4. This day, April 19, 1775, marks the actual beginning of war.

THINGS TO READ

1. "The American Revolution," Fiske, pp. 120-125.
2. "The Story of the Revolution," Lodge, pp. 25-40, 42-52.
3. "American Leaders and Heroes," Gordy, pp. 165-174.

4. "The Boston Tea Party," Watson, pp. 22-43.
5. "The Boys of '76," Coffin, pp. 17-41.
6. "From Colony to Commonwealth," Tiffany, pp. 70-114.
7. "Paul Revere's Ride," Longfellow.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *veteran, military stores, stealthy, disperse, volley, skirmish*.
2. Discuss the meaning of the inscription on the statue of the minuteman: "Here once the embattled farmers stood, and fired the shot heard round the world."
3. Discuss the results of the Lexington and Concord fights.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

April 19, 1775, the Revolution began at Lexington and Concord.
(If possible place a picture of Revere's Ride here.)

A hurry of hoofs in a village street,
A shape in the moonlight, a bulk in the dark,
And beneath, from the pebbles, in passing, a spark
Struck out by a steed flying fearless and fleet:
That was all! And yet, through the gloom and the light,
The fate of a nation was riding that night;
And the spark struck out by that steed, in his flight,
Kindled the land into flame with its heat.

* * * * *

In the books you have read,
How the British regulars fired and fled, —
How the farmers gave them ball for ball,
From behind each fence and farmyard wall,
Chasing the redcoats down the lane,
Then crossing the fields to emerge again
Under the trees at the turn of the road,
And only pausing to fire and load.

— LONGFELLOW.

Obtain pictures of the Old North Church, Lexington green, the fight at Lexington, Concord bridge, and the statue of the minuteman. Place these in your portfolio, or in your notebook.

XIV

CONGRESS IN PHILADELPHIA — WAR IN BOSTON

THE news of Lexington and Concord spread like wildfire throughout New England. Men from at least twenty-three towns arrived in time to have a share in the fight, and more were coming all the time. In less than a week General Gage found himself and

his soldiers shut up in Boston by a long semicircular line of sixteen thousand Americans, extending from Charlestown to Jamaica Plain. And thus matters stood when the Second Continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia early in May.

Many of the members of this Second Congress had attended the first. The most prominent among the patriot leaders were all there, and with them a man perhaps better known to-day than any of them

Second Conti-
nental Con-
gress, May,
1775

Independence Hall, Philadelphia

except Washington. Benjamin Franklin was already an old man when the Revolution began. He was in his seventieth year, but strong in mind and body, and with a long life of usefulness to his fellow-men to look back upon. You must read something of that

life, so that you can understand the respect and veneration his fellow-Americans had for him.

Much had happened since the First Congress had come to an end in the autumn. The news from Boston was still uppermost in every one's mind, until the story of Ethan Allen roused new opinions and discussion. Allen, with a party of his "Green Mountain Boys," had crossed from Vermont into New York, and, surprising the garrison at Fort Ticonderoga, had seized the fort and with it a large quantity of arms and ammunition. At the same time another company of the Green Mountain Boys had captured Crown Point. The Hudson Valley was in the hands of the Americans.

Capture of
Ticonderoga,
May 10,
1775

This deed of Allen and his men at first met with disapproval from many. This was not "defensive warfare"; it was a direct attack upon the British. But the spirit of war was growing rapidly, and at length Congress voted to garrison the forts, and soon after, to adopt the army at Boston as a "Continental Army."

In selecting a commander for this newly adopted army the Congress performed one of the wisest acts of its whole existence. The choice fell unanimously upon George Washington, and we know to-day how nobly he performed the duties of the position. Modest in his acceptance, as the truly great are always modest, Washington said: "Since the Congress desire, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service and for the support of the glorious cause. But I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room that I, this day, declare with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with."

Washington
made com-
mander in
chief, June 16,
1775

A few days after his election, he set out for Boston, but before he reached the town, still another blow had been struck for freedom. A new British commander, General Howe, had arrived with soldiers enough to make the British force ten thousand men. The New England army, ill-supplied and undisciplined as it was,

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still remained in its position, shutting the British inside the town. The object of the Americans was to force the British to take to their ships and leave Boston. Of course, with no fleet, this was the most the Americans could hope to accomplish, and even this was to be slow work.

The location of Boston is such that the British could

The battle of not be safe in the
Bunker Hill, town without
June 17, holding two posi-
1775 tions of impor-

tance in the neighborhood. These were, either Breed's Hill or Bunker Hill in Charlestown, and Dorchester Heights on the other side of Boston. The Americans, eager to drive the British from the town, resolved to fortify Bunker Hill. On the night of the 16th of June, sixteen hundred men were sent out under Colonel Prescott to fortify it. On

The Spirit of '76

reaching the spot, Prescott resolved to go a step farther and take possession of Breed's Hill. There his men began throwing up earthworks.

In the morning the British generals saw with astonishment what had been done. It would never do to allow the rebels to remain there. With a few cannon on that high ground they could drive the British to their ships. Preparations to attack the hill were made. There was one sure way of dislodging the Americans. The British had only to go around by sea, and, taking possession of Charlestown Neck, keep the Americans

where they were, and wait until hunger forced them to surrender. Prescott had not thought of that when he selected Breed's Hill instead of the one he was sent to fortify. Prescott's blunder, however, was more than balanced by that of the British generals. The sea route was too slow for them. It would be easy enough to charge the rebels on the hill and drive them off. There wasn't any fight in them. So thought the British generals. So soon had they forgotten Lexington.

General Howe took command of the attacking party. Up the hill came the soldiers with their scarlet coats bright in the sunshine. Prescott's command to his men had been, "Don't fire until you can see the whites of their eyes." The men obeyed. When they did fire, even trained British regulars could not long withstand such fearful volleys. The ranks were broken; and the soldiers retreated down the hill. Again they formed, advanced, met the American fire, and retreated; the Americans were jubilant. So long a time elapsed it was thought the soldiers were not going to try it again. But they did, and the Americans now found with dismay that their powder was almost gone. There was nothing left but retreat or capture. The Americans retreated, and left the British in possession of the hill.

Prescott Statue, Bunker Hill

This then was a British victory, but it was a hardly won victory after all. "I wish we could sell them another hill at the same price," said Nathanael Greene. The Americans were anything but downcast at their defeat. Had they not twice driven back trained British soldiers? And the British were not very joyful over their victory. Their respect for the Americans as fighters had grown amazingly.

Messengers bearing the news of Bunker Hill met Washington not far from Philadelphia. He listened to the story, asking but one question, "Did the militia fight?" then pressed on toward Boston. Arriving there, he took formal command of the troops, and entered on a slow and difficult piece of work, — to make an

army of the fourteen thousand undisciplined men before him. The autumn and winter in Boston were uneventful, but Washington's work during that time cannot be too highly praised. Until February he had not powder enough to dare attempt an attack, but he used the time of waiting so well that when the moment to act came, the army, as well as its commander, was ready for it.

Meanwhile Washington had sent an expedition to Canada.

Expedition to Canada, in the winter of 1775

It was hoped that the Canadian colonists might be induced to join in the war, but this hope was never realized. The expedition had as its object the tak-

The Expedition to Canada and Washington's
Line of March to New York

ing of Montreal and Quebec, and the command was given to two able officers, Montgomery and Arnold. They were to approach Quebec by two different routes, and to meet in an attack on the city. The story of their adventures — of Arnold's terrible journey through the woods of Maine, of the night attack on Quebec in the midst of a blinding snowstorm, of Montgomery's death — is one of thrilling interest, but it is the story of failure, nevertheless.

To return to affairs in Boston — Howe made a blunder in not fortifying Dorchester Heights. Washington, as soon as the arrival of the cannon from Ticonderoga made it possible, seized the heights, and once more the British awoke one morning to find American earth-works overlooking the town. Once more the British prepared to attack, but several days of storm delayed them, until the works were too strong. Washington's cannon could now be fired into the British camp. Howe was obliged to give up, and he agreed to leave Boston. On March 17, 1776, the British soldiers boarded their ships, while Washington and his men entered the town. The war in New England was over. It remained to be seen what plan the British would adopt next.

Fortification
of Dorchester
Heights,
March, 1776

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. Minutemen continued to arrive on the outskirts of Boston until the British were quite shut in the city by them.
2. A party of New Englanders seized Crown Point and Ticonderoga.
3. The Second Continental Congress met a short time after the fighting had thus actually begun.
4. The Congress adopted the militia at Boston as the "Continental Army," electing George Washington as commander in chief.
5. Before Washington reached Boston to take command, a real battle had taken place there, on Breed's Hill, in Charlestown. The Americans were driven from the hill, but only after hard fighting by the British, and when the Americans had exhausted their supply of powder.
6. In the spring, by fortifying Dorchester Heights, Washington succeeded in forcing the British to leave Boston.

THINGS TO READ

1. "The American Revolution," Fiske, pp. 136-144, 165-169.
2. "The Story of the Revolution," Lodge, pp. 70-90, 97-117.
3. "Children's Stories of American Scientists," Wright, pp. 66-89.
4. "American Leaders and Heroes," Gordy, pp. 175-187.
5. "The Printer Boy," Thayer.
6. "George Washington," Scudder, pp. 131-155.
7. "George Washington," Hale, pp. 137-185.

8. "George Washington," Hapgood, pp. 89-144.
9. "A Short History of the Revolution," Tomlinson, pp. 42-84.
10. "The Boston Tea Party," Watson, pp. 27-75, 174-182.
11. "The Story of Massachusetts," Hale, pp. 266-282.
12. "The Boys of '76," Coffin, pp. 42-81.
13. "Grandfather's Chair," Hawthorne, Part III, Chapter VIII.
14. "Grandmother's Story of Bunker Hill Battle," Holmes.
15. "The War of Independence," Fiske, pp. 87-94.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *prominent, veneration, defensive, warfare, unanimously, jubilant, formal*.
2. Compare the action of Ethan Allen and the "Green Mountain Boys" with that of the Massachusetts men who fought at Lexington.
3. Discuss: How had Washington's early life fitted him for his new work? What particular events in his experience may have helped to form his judgment of military affairs?
4. For your portfolio: Washington's portrait, the "Washington Elm"; the battle of Bunker Hill, Bunker Hill Monument, the Prescott statue; Franklin's portrait: his birthplace, his printing press; the ruins of Crown Point and Ticonderoga.
5. If you live near Boston, visit Bunker Hill.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Make a map to illustrate the war around Boston. Show Lexington, Concord; the position of the Americans in their semicircular line around the city; Breed's Hill and Bunker Hill in Charlestown; Dorchester Heights.
2. Facts about Benjamin Franklin. (Portrait.)
His boyhood; — his work as a young man; — how he became famous; — his public services before the Revolution began.
3. The Story of Ethan Allen at Ticonderoga.
4. A Brief Review of Washington's Early Career.
Born in — in the year —; studied —, and was sent in 1748 to the — valley to — lands there; made a public surveyor; appointed — in the Virginia militia; sent at the age of — by Governor Dinwiddie to —; in command of militia, attacked at Fort —, and —; made a member of General —'s staff; was present at his defeat and death.

XV

CUTTING THE COLONIES IN TWO

THERE was great rejoicing everywhere when Howe and his soldiers, with about a thousand Tories, set sail from Boston for Halifax. Of course, every one knew that this was not the end of the war, and that the soldiers were sure to appear somewhere else, probably in New York. That city was certain to be attacked. In many ways it was the most important city on the continent, and if the British should get possession of it, its position midway between New England and the southern colonies would make it possible almost to cut the colonies in two. So Howe was daily expected to appear in New York harbor, and Washington began making preparations to meet him there.

In the meantime little of importance in a military way took place, but through the spring and early summer all eyes were turned upon Congress and the questions being debated there. As early as the previous autumn Congress had advised each colony to make a new government for itself. It had also appointed committees to confer with foreign powers. Congress was fast losing its hesitating spirit. Now, in the spring of 1776, there began to be talk of nothing less than independence, of breaking away from the mother country, and forming a nation in this western world. At first many in Congress and in the colonies which the members of Congress represented were opposed to such a plan. It seemed a very daring step. But many things occurred to change the minds of those who hesitated. One of these things was the news that the king had hired twenty thousand German troops to send to America. The feeling for independence grew until, by the end of June, twelve of the

thirteen colonies had instructed their delegates in Congress to vote for independence when the question should come up for decision.

The matter had been referred to a committee, and in due time the committee presented to Congress a paper which we know as the "Declaration of Independence." This paper, largely composed by Thomas Jefferson, was read to the gravely silent members. Then John Adams arose, and spoke in its favor. His speech was considered in his day a wonder of oratory. We have no record of

The Declara-
tion of Inde-
pendence,
July 4, 1776

The Declaration of Independence
From the painting by Trumbull.

his words, but we know that there was little need for any one else to speak for the Declaration when he had finished his appeal. The vote was taken by colonies. Nine were for, three against, New York casting no vote. It was moved to put off final action until the next day. Then, on July fourth, the Declaration was

formally passed, and the birth of the nation was accomplished. There was great rejoicing everywhere.

The United States, however, had many troublous days before it; the independence it had declared was yet to be won, and even while Congress debated, Howe's fleet made its appearance in New York Bay.

Washington saw clearly what no one but himself seemed to realize — that he could not hope to hold New York with no more than eighteen thousand men. But since Congress and the people

Battle of
Long Island,
August 27,
1776

expected him to fight, he set to work quietly, dividing his men so that no important point should be left unguarded.

Thomas Jefferson

Half the army, under Putnam, was sent to hold Brooklyn Heights. These heights were as important to an army in New York as Bunker Hill or Dorchester had been in Boston. Eight or nine thousand men could do little if Howe should send all his force, as he probably would do, to attack Brooklyn. Still, Washington must make the effort.

Near the end of August the expected attack came. Howe landed about twenty thousand men on the Long Island shore at Gravesend, and, on the 27th, dividing his army into three parts, he attacked the Americans, who were outside their works, on almost all sides at once. The result was what might have been expected. The Americans could do nothing against such a force. About a thousand of

Liberty Bell

them were taken prisoners, and the rest driven into the works on Brooklyn Heights. At this point, as night was approaching,

Howe concluded to day before storming next day he still remembering Bunker had meanwhile come to New York with more men than that Howe was prepared to storm the fort, he knew that he must withdraw. He saw, too, that Howe might at any moment bring up his fleet so as to cut off all chance of retreat, and he resolved to act at once.

On the night, then, of the 29th, we might have seen a strange fleet of boats gathered on the Brooklyn side of the East River. There were row-boats, scows, yachts, fishing smacks, — boats of every description,

The New York Campaign

General Howe landed at Staten Island, June 28, 1776; crossed to Gravesend, August 22; battle of Long Island, August 27; Washington retreated across the East River, August 29, and proceeded up the Hudson; Howe took possession of New York, September 15; attacked Washington at White Plains, October 28; Washington retreated to North Castle and then into New Jersey.

large and small. Washington had gathered them to ferry his troops across the river. All night long the boats plied silently back and forth. Men, cannon, provisions, ammunition, — everything was safely removed except the heaviest of the guns. Washington's
retreat from
Long Island

During the first part of the night, the moon shone brightly, but the British were so sure that the enemy were safe within the

Washington's Retreat from Long Island

fort, that they took no trouble to watch them. And later, as the dawn was approaching, and might have shown only too plainly what was going on, a thick fog came up, and dropped its gray curtain all about the scene on the shore. All night long Washington had been in the midst of the embarking soldiers, watching, directing, encouraging, and it was only when at seven o'clock the last boatload of men was on its way that he crossed the river

himself. The British soldiers stirred into life at last, only to find that they were besieging an empty fort. Their astonishment knew no bounds.

Washington knew that having lost Brooklyn he could not hope to hold New York, but he intended to make the British work as hard for it as possible. The story of the next six weeks is the story of Washington's retreat from one position to another, holding each until it was safe to do so no longer, and then always escaping the traps Howe set to catch him. Not a victory did Washington gain, but his defeats were almost as good as victories. The middle of November found Washington in New Jersey, and the first campaign in New York at an end.

Nathan Hale

A young American who was hanged as a spy by the British. He died bravely, saying, "I only regret that I have but one life to give for my country."

The first British blow at the center had been struck, and though Howe was in possession of New York City, and though every movement of his

troops had been apparently a success, the end of the war was as far away as ever. The American army was not crushed. The line of the Hudson was not in British hands. Howe had taken New York — and that was all.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. On July 4, 1776, Congress passed the Declaration of Independence, which declared the colonies free from British rule.
2. The British attacked New York, hoping to obtain control of the Hudson, and so cut off all communication between New England and the other colonies.

3. Howe succeeded in taking New York City, but Washington, by a skillful night retreat, withdrew his army, thus saving it from capture.

4. Washington was obliged to retreat into New Jersey. Howe was left in possession of New York, but the upper Hudson was in the hands of the Americans.

THINGS TO READ

1. "The American Revolution," Fiske, pp. 210-212.
2. "Stories of the Old Dominion," Cooke, pp. 180-187.
3. "A Short History of the Revolution," Tomlinson, pp. 85-95, 102-131.
4. "Campaign of Trenton," Drake, pp. 11-49.
5. "The Children's History Book," pp. 43-164.
6. "Independence Bell," Anonymous.
7. "Supposed Speech of John Adams," Webster.
8. "The Boys of '76," Coffin, pp. 91-110.
9. "The Patriot Schoolmaster," Butterworth.
10. "Two Spies," Lossing.
11. "The War of Independence," Fiske, pp. 97-115.
12. "George Washington," Hapgood, pp. 153-157.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *debated*, *confer*, *oratory*, *foreign*, *besiege*, *scows*, *campaign*.
2. Learn the date of the Declaration of Independence.
3. Prepare yourself to write a clear answer to the question: Why did each side consider it important to control the Hudson?
4. Discuss the question: Did Washington accomplish any good by the New York campaign? Defend your opinion.
5. Compare Washington and Howe as generals, from what you have seen of them in the two campaigns studied. What quality in each impresses you?
6. Questions for brief or written answers:—
How long had war been in progress (November, 1776)? What two campaigns had been carried on? What had the British accomplished? What had the Americans accomplished?
7. Ask your teacher to tell you the story of Nathan Hale.
8. For your portfolio: Trumbull's Declaration of Independence, Independence Hall, the Liberty Bell.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Make a map to illustrate the New York campaign.
2. Write a paragraph describing the retreat after the battle of Long Island. Make the picture as real as possible.

XVI

SOME HOLIDAY HAPPENINGS IN NEW JERSEY

To us, to-day, looking back upon the events we read of in the last chapter, it is easy to see that Washington did all that could be done with the forces at his command, — that he really did a great deal, in fact. The people of the newly formed United States, however, saw merely defeat and disaster, and discouragement was everywhere felt. The soldiers of the Continental army shared this feeling, began to lose hope, and to long for their homes again. The first great excitement was over. The terms of enlistment of many of the companies of militia expired, and the men could not be induced to remain.

The main army, under Washington, had been obliged to continue its retreat across New Jersey, closely followed by a large body of the British under Lord Cornwallis. By the time the Americans reached Princeton, there were but three thousand of them left. It would never do to risk a battle, and Washington could only retreat once more. He led his little army across the Delaware early in December, and, to prevent the British from following, carried with him every boat that could be found on the east bank of the river for miles.

The British reached the river, and Cornwallis was eager to gather boats and follow the Americans into Pennsylvania; but Howe, who had just come on from New York, thought it best to wait a few days in the hope that the river would freeze over, and so save the trouble of finding boats. The army was spread out along the river, with its center at Trenton. There seemed nothing to do but wait, so Howe and Cornwallis both returned to New York for the Christmas holidays.

The difficulties Washington had to face during the last month of the dying year of 1776 would have daunted a man less brave than he. He had to watch his army dwindle away day by day; he had to remember that on New Year's Day many more of them would reach the end of their terms, and would probably go home. He had to suffer from the plot-
 General Charles
 tings and disobedience of one of his generals, Charles Lee
 Lee, who had been placed in charge of half the army, and who was the cause of great trouble to the commander. Lee had been left behind at North-castle with his division, and when, early in the retreat across New Jersey, Washington had sent word to him to join the main army, Lee had pretended not to understand, or to regard the orders as mere advice. Later, in the face of repeated and positive orders, he still disobeyed, and when he finally did set out, he wasted day after day on the road, until Washington's patience was sorely tried.

Fortunately for Washington and for the American people, General Lee was somewhat

A Continental Soldier

careless one night in sleeping at a wayside tavern several miles from his army. Here he was captured by a party of British scouts and carried off, rather scantily clad, to the British lines. The Americans at the time thought this a great misfortune, but time has proved that it was not. It is now known beyond a doubt that Lee was doing all he could against Washington, in

order that he might secure the great commander's position for himself,

These were dark hours for Washington and for the success of the Revolution. It seemed as though any day might see Washington without an army, and the people with no heart to continue the war. The British commanders offered to pardon all who during the next sixty days should pledge allegiance to the British government; and in less than ten days more than three thousand of the people of New Jersey accepted the offer.

Washington saw that something must be done to revive the sinking courage of his countrymen, to inspire confidence in Congress, to show the British that America was not yet crushed. And this is what he did.

The forces that had been under Lee's command had reached the main army at last. Washington now had six thousand men. The British had thirty thousand in New York and New Jersey, with three strong divisions facing the Americans on the Delaware. The center of the British force consisted of twelve hundred Hessians under Colonel Rahl at Trenton. Washington believed that he could make a successful attack upon them, and he carefully laid his plans to do so.

On Christmas night, while the Hessians were celebrating Christmas in good German fashion, four detachments of the American army were to cross the Delaware, and to combine in an attack upon the town. By the time
The attack on Trenton, December 25, 1776 the Americans reached Trenton it was expected that the Hessians would be sleeping off the effects of their gayety, and it would be easy to capture them all.

The appointed day came, cold and stormy. By night the air was full of sleet and snow. The biting winds blew the floating ice here and there in the river, making it almost impassable. When Washington reached the river bank, word was brought to him that for one reason or another every one of the three detachments that were to aid him had failed. But neither storm nor

danger from the floating ice nor failure to receive the aid he had expected could keep him back now.

It took ten hours of terrible labor to get the men safely across, and it was four o'clock in the morning before the little army was ready to begin its march of nine miles to Trenton. Everything took place as Washington had expected. The Hessians, roused from the heavy sleep which followed their carousals of the night

Washington crossing the Delaware

From Leutze's painting in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

before, were too bewildered to fight, and nearly a thousand of them, with all their arms, were captured. The Americans lost but two men in the fight, and two who were frozen to death on the way.

Here, at last, was a victory, and its effect upon army and people was as great as even Washington could have wished. And the general had not finished yet. Cornwallis cut short his Christmas festivities in New York, and hastened to attack Washington

at Trenton. Leaving two thousand men at Princeton, Cornwallis marched toward the American camp "to finish this business up." All along the road the British were worried by Washington when they reached the camp. It seemed best to wait until morning. On that occasion Washington and his two thousand men came to his camp. He said to them, "The old fox is creeping away toward Princeton."

It is quite true that the British sentinels heard the noise of men working on the American intrench-

Washington's Retreat across New Jersey

ments all night, and saw all night the light of American camp fires. But this only showed the slyness of the "old fox," who had left these few men there on purpose to mislead the British.

Toward daybreak they stole off through the woods, and it was a dreary, deserted camp which met the astonished eyes of the British when morning came.

The sound of guns in the direction of Princeton now warned Cornwallis of the direction Washington had taken. He must be fighting with Cornwallis's reënforcements. Corn- Battle at
wallis started at once to the assistance of his troops. Princeton,
It was, however, too late. Washington had met January 3,
them, and had entirely defeated them. Then, feeling 1777
sure that he could not be overtaken, since he had taken pains to cut down every bridge his army had passed over, Washington proceeded leisurely to the heights around Morristown. There he was quite safe from British attack.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The American army rapidly decreased in numbers; both soldiers and people were discouraged.
2. Washington led his army across New Jersey, and across the Delaware into Pennsylvania. The British followed to the river, but stopped there for lack of boats.
3. Washington recrossed the river, and attacked Trenton, capturing the thousand Hessians stationed there. Cornwallis hastened to Trenton, but Washington by another night retreat escaped, and proceeding to Princeton, attacked and defeated two thousand of Cornwallis's men who were setting out to join him.
4. Washington then made his way to the heights of Morristown, where he was safe from attack.

THINGS TO READ

1. "The Story of the Revolution," Lodge, pp. 208-227.
2. "George Washington," Scudder, pp. 156-169.
3. "Hero Tales from American History," Lodge and Roosevelt, pp 45-55.
4. "A Short History of the Revolution," Tomlinson, pp. 130-153.
5. "George Washington," Hale, pp. 196-203.
6. "The Campaign of Trenton," Drake, pp. 50-112.
7. "Stories of the Old Bay State," Brooks, pp. 136-144.

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8. "The Boys of '76," Coffin, pp. 129-151.
9. "Stories of New Jersey," Stockton, pp. 117-213.
10. "Thankful Blossom," Bret Harte (a story).
11. "The War of Independence," Fiske, pp. 116-122.
12. "George Washington," Hapgood, pp. 169-173.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *enlistment*, *daunted*, *detachments*, *revelers*, *carousals*, *skirmishing parties*, *reënforcements*, *leisurely*.
2. Discuss the question: In what ways did Washington show himself a great general in this campaign?
3. Prepare yourself to write an answer to the question: What were the results of the New Jersey campaign?
4. Think of words which you might use to describe each of the following persons: Washington, Lee, Howe, Cornwallis.
5. For your portfolio: Leutze's Washington crossing the Delaware, Faed's Washington at Trenton, Trumbull's Battle of Princeton.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Make a map to illustrate the New Jersey campaign.
2. Make a "running outline" of the campaign.
3. Write the statement for which you prepared in No. 3, above.

In June Burgoyne started south with about eight thousand men, finely equipped and confident of success, while St. Leger led his force of a thousand toward the west. Both divisions were accompanied by Indian allies. At first everything went well with Burgoyne's undertaking. Reaching Ticonderoga, the British found a high rock overlooking the fort, which the Americans had failed to

Burgoyne's
invasion,
began June,
1777

Ruins of Ticonderoga

fortify, believing that it was too steep for any one to climb. This was a mistake, however, as the American garrison found, when they looked up at the rock and saw red-coated men moving about on it, and the mouth of a cannon yawning grimly before their eyes. To stay meant capture, so St. Clair, the American officer in command of the garrison, decided to leave the fort. Burgoyne's army marched in, and news of Burgoyne's first victory was quickly dispatched to Canada and England.

Meanwhile Schuyler had come up to Fort Edward, and here

St. Clair joined him. Burgoyne, who was highly elated by his victory at Ticonderoga, was anxious to follow it up by meeting and overcoming the whole of the American force. He was sure that he could do this easily, and perhaps he might have done so if he could have reached at once Schuyler's poorly equipped army. Schuyler, however, had no intention of allowing the British to reach him at once. Time was what he needed and what he determined to have. Already the Indian allies of the British were

beginning their inhuman deeds, and already the militia in the towns along the line of the British march were rising to protect their homes. Every day that Burgoyne could be delayed would increase their numbers.

Burgoyne's Army on the Road from Lake Champlain to Fort Edward

The roads along which the British would come from Skenesboro to Fort Edward were not

very good at their best, and Schuyler immediately went to work to make them still worse. His men exchanged their guns for spades, hatchets, and pickaxes, and when Burgoyne had passed Skenesboro he began to see the fruits of their labor. Great trees blocked the way, with their branches intertwined and tangled. Rough stones and heaps of brush were scattered everywhere. The little streams which might have helped the progress of the men were choked with sticks and stones. The bridges over larger streams which must be crossed were carefully hewn down. Burgoyne had to rebuild forty of them between Skenesboro and

Fort Edward. It took him twenty-four days to cover twenty-six miles, and when he reached Fort Edward it was only to find that Schuyler had moved down the river to Stillwater.

For several reasons affairs did not look so bright as they had looked a month before. The army was delayed by lack of horses to drag the cannon, and the men were even beginning to feel the lack of food. General Lincoln of the American army was busy in Vermont collecting stores and organizing the militia, which, it was rumored, would presently attack Burgoyne from the rear, thus cutting off his communication with Canada. Burgoyne's idea of seizing the little town of Bennington, where the American stores were, was no doubt a good one. He could so obtain the horses and provisions he so much needed, and at the same time disturb the plans of the farmer soldiers of Vermont, and perhaps put an end to that danger.

Battle of
Bennington,
August 13,
1777

Accordingly, five hundred German soldiers were sent out to capture the stores at Bennington. The militia, however, was ready for them; and when darkness put an end to the day's fight the Vermont men were the victors, and almost all of the German force were their prisoners.

Burgoyne was worse off than before, and it would not be strange if his impatience were fast changing to discouragement. Leaving him at Fort Edward, where he remained for some weeks, we must consider the second part of the plan — St. Leger's expedition — and its success or failure. Reaching Oswego without difficulty, St. Leger and his men — about seventeen hundred, including Tories and Indians — set out on their wilderness march to Fort Stanwix. Reaching the fort, he demanded its surrender. But the garrison had no idea of surrendering, and there was nothing for St. Leger to do but to besiege the fort.

St. Leger
besieges Fort
Stanwix,
August,
1777

Two expeditions were at once organized to relieve the besieged garrison. One of these was a force of twelve hundred men under

Benedict Arnold, sent out by Schuyler from Stillwater. The other, and the first to reach the scene of action, was a band of militia recruited from the Mohawk Valley and led by General Nicholas Herkimer. St. Leger was to find that though there were many Tories in the Mohawk Valley, as he had been told, there were also many men ready to rise and protect their homes against the savage invaders he was bringing into the valley.

Herkimer and his eight hundred men reached a closely wooded hollow in the forest, only a few miles from the fort, when a war whoop told them that they were surrounded. A frightful battle followed. Fighting hand to hand, against Tory neighbor or savage foe, Herkimer's brave men held out for hours. The old general was wounded, but ordering his saddle placed on an old stump he sat coolly issuing orders and smoking his pipe, as though he had no thought of danger.

In the midst of the fighting a heavy shower came up; torrents of rain fell, putting an end to the battle. It was hard to tell which side was victorious. Each had lost many men — Herkimer so many that it was useless to think of renewing the attack. The patriots of the Mohawk Valley sadly returned to their homes. They had done their part, however, and had helped along St. Leger's final overthrow.

That came about two weeks later, and strangely enough was accomplished without a blow. Arnold's party had marched from Stillwater, and was nearing the fort. Rumor of the coming of a great force of Americans, carefully circulated by Arnold, produced great fright in the British camp. The Indians deserted, as did many of the soldiers, and finally St. Leger with the little remnant of his army took to the woods, and returned to trouble Fort Stanwix and the Mohawk Valley no more.

The second part of the plan — St. Leger's expedition — was thus a complete failure. When the news reached Burgoyne, he

Battle at
Oriskany,
August 6,
1777

End of St.
Leger's part
of the plan

was more profoundly discouraged than ever. His situation was becoming desperate. Lincoln's volunteers had succeeded in cutting off his only source of supplies, and the question of food for his soldiers was one that must be answered. His only hope now lay in the third part of the plan, — Howe's expedition up the Hudson. But here again he was doomed to disappointment. When Howe's share in the Northern campaign was first suggested to him by the ministry, he had mentioned in his reply a plan of his own which might interfere. In response to this the ministry had written positive orders to him to let nothing interfere with his aiding Burgoyne at the proper moment.

Still Burgoyne, anxiously waiting, saw nothing of Howe or Howe's army. What could be the reason? It was a long time before this question could be answered. Then the answer was found in the shape of a dusty paper in one of the pigeonholes of a London desk. The "positive orders" had been entirely overlooked, and had never been sent to Howe at all.

Howe, meanwhile, was as busy as a man could be in carrying out the "plan of his own" he had mentioned. This was nothing less than the taking of Philadelphia. He started across New Jersey early in June, intending to capture Philadelphia and return in time to meet Burgoyne at Albany. But the "old fox" was on the watch for him, and Howe found it impossible to get by the American army. After wasting nearly a month, the British returned to New York and started once more, by sea, knowing that the Americans could not trouble them there.

Howe's campaign around Philadelphia, June to October, 1777

When Howe landed his army at the head of Chesapeake Bay it was already late in August. The day of Bennington had come and gone. St. Leger's force had been scattered. Burgoyne was in great danger, and Howe was hundreds of miles away from him. Washington saw that if he could delay Howe still more, Burgoyne must surely surrender or his army be entirely crushed. So he set to work to delay Howe, and though the Americans were

twice defeated at Brandywine and Germantown in the campaign that followed, it was the end of September before Howe took possession of Philadelphia, and another month had passed before he obtained control of the Delaware, so that he could be sure of keeping what he had gained.

There was no longer any question of returning to help Burgoyne. It was too late. About the middle of September, Burgoyne, weary of wait-

Burgoyne's
defeat
surrender
October
1777

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Philadelphia and Vicinity

close of the fighting they held the ground where the battle took place;

but it was a poor victory. Only three thousand of the Americans took part in the battle, under the command of Benedict Arnold, the hero of Quebec.

In the second battle, which took place at Stillwater, near Saratoga, the British were entirely defeated, and were forced to retreat. During the battle, Arnold, who had been removed from command by Gates, had been watching from the heights, until at last, seeing an opportunity to drive back a division of the British,

he could remain away no longer ; flinging himself upon his horse, he galloped into the midst of the fight. His men shouted with joy at sight of him, and charged with renewed vigor. Arnold himself fought with furious energy, and it is believed by many that the victory was really due to his efforts.

Burgoyne attempted to retreat across the Hudson, but the way was now closed. He was surrounded on every side by soldiers of the Continental army, or by New York and New England militia. He still heard nothing from New York, and, on October 17, being unable to wait longer, he surrendered with his whole force. It was agreed that the British soldiers, after leaving their arms at Saratoga, should march across Massachusetts to Boston, there to take ship for

The End of the British Plan

England, promising to take no further part in the war. And so came to an end the carefully studied "British plan for 1777."

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The British plan for 1777 had three parts.

Burgoyne was to descend Lake Champlain and the Hudson to Albany, securing the Hudson Valley for the British.

St. Leger was to set out from Oswego to take possession of the Valley of the Mohawk and to join Burgoyne at Albany.

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Howe was to come with or send part of his force from New York, capturing the lower Hudson and completing the union of the British forces.

2. Burgoyne was successful until he reached the lower end of the lake. From there on his progress was very slow. He needed horses and provisions. A detachment sent out by him to seize supplies at Bennington was captured by the Americans. Burgoyne was somewhat disheartened.

3. St. Leger's expedition came to nothing.

4. Howe, having undertaken to capture Philadelphia, was so delayed by Washington that he sent no aid to Burgoyne until too late.

5. Burgoyne, desperate for want of food and supplies, attacked the Americans. He was defeated, and his surrender completed the failure of the "plan for 1777."

THINGS TO READ

1. "The American Revolution," Fiske, pp. 272-285.
2. "A Short History of the Revolution," Tomlinson, pp. 173-226.
3. "Burgoyne's Invasion," Drake, pp. 27-142.
4. "Hero Tales from American History," Lodge and Roosevelt, pp. 59-67.
5. "The Boys of '76," Coffin, pp. 122-244.
6. "The War of Independence," Fiske, pp. 125-137.
7. "Our Country's Flag," Holden.
8. "Paul and Persis," Brush (a story).
9. Selections from "In the Valley," Frederic (a story).
10. "American Fights and Fighters," Brady, pp. 71-83.
11. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 268-275.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *executed*, *triple*, *invasion*, *frontier*, *rumored*, *recruited*, *source of supplies*.
2. Discuss in class the weak points in the British plan.
3. Compare Burgoyne with Howe.
4. Gates was much praised for his victory in the North, and Washington blamed for the defeats near Philadelphia. Think out why it was that Washington's work was really a great aid to the Northern army.
5. Make a list of the battles of the war thus far, marking each to show which side claimed the victory.

6. Review all the dates you have been asked to learn.
7. Place in your portfolio a picture of Burgoyne's surrender.
8. Discuss the question: What was the effect of the use of Indians in this campaign of the British? Did it help or hinder them?
9. Form an opinion as to the method used by Arnold to scare St. Leger's men. What is your opinion of the old saying, "All is fair in war"?
10. It is said that the "Stars and Stripes" was first used by the besieged garrison of Fort Stanwix. Find out when this flag was adopted by Congress, by whom it was designed, and what flags had been in use by the Americans during the earlier part of the war.
11. Learn the date of Burgoyne's surrender, October, 1777, as the end of the British attempts to secure the Hudson.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Outline the British "plan for 1777." Illustrate by two maps, one showing the plan, the other the campaign which resulted.
2. Make an outline, under three main headings, of the second campaign in New York.
3. Write a short history of the flag. Tell what each part of the design means. If you can illustrate your composition by a water-color sketch or a drawing, do so.

XVIII

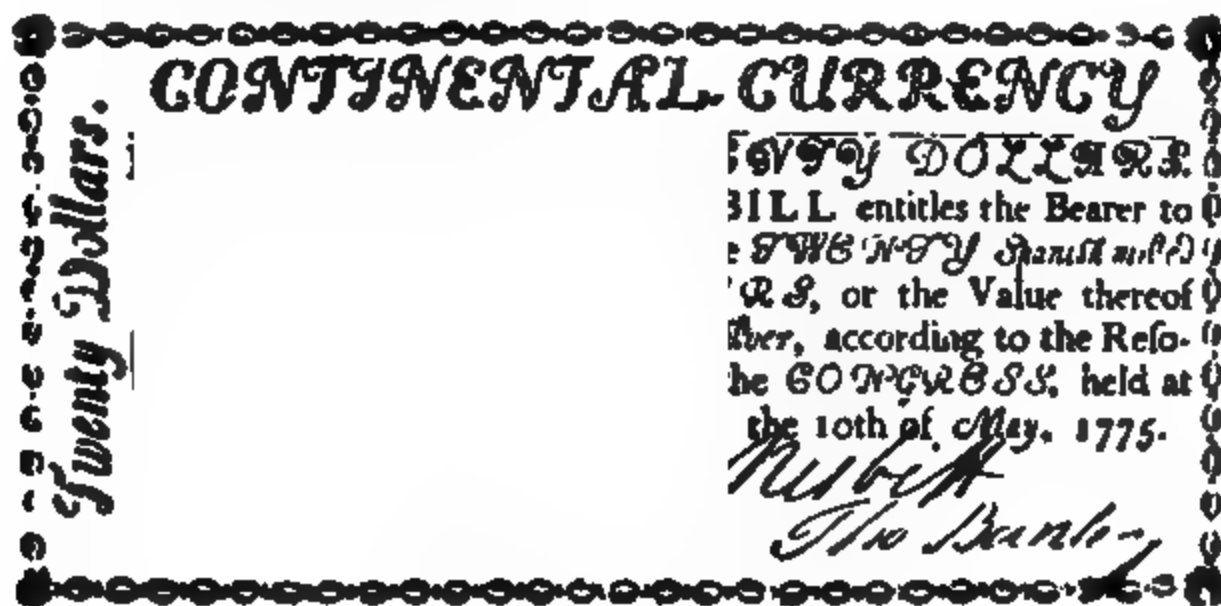
ANOTHER SIDE OF WAR

IN carrying on a war there are many things besides the actual fighting to be considered. Men must be found to make up the army which is to fight. Money must be raised with which to pay these men and to purchase supplies. Supplies must be collected to provide the soldiers with food and clothing, with guns and powder and bullets. Horses must be obtained to convey these supplies to the camps of the army. It is sometimes necessary to ask aid of foreign nations, and men must be sent to carry on negotiations with their governments. All of these things are important, and for all of them a strong government which can make laws and enforce them is needed.

Lack of a central government in the colonies All through the Revolution the lack of a government was one of the worst troubles the new nation had to face. The Continental Congress was not a government, and it could do little except advise the states what it was best to do. Men, money, and supplies were absolutely necessary, yet Congress had no power to procure any of them. The soldiers sent to the Continental army by the states were usually enlisted only for short terms, so that the army was constantly changing, and Washington often despaired of ever getting a well-organized force of men.

Money difficulties The matter of money, too, was a very serious one. If Congress had had the right to tax the people, money might have been raised, as in our own time it was raised to carry on our war with Spain. But Congress could only recommend to the states that they should each raise a certain amount, of which very little was ever paid. The next thing

to be tried was borrowing, but not many people like to lend unless they feel some certainty of being repaid. Some money was raised in this way, however. The French government advanced some, being quite ready in a quiet way to injure her old enemy, England. Then, too, some public-spirited Americans did what they could, — Franklin, who lent Congress his little savings; Washington, who refused pay for his services and offered



A Piece of Continental Currency

his private fortune to pay his soldiers should Congress fail; and Robert Morris, a Philadelphia banker, who did more than any one else to provide funds for the war.

Still much more was needed, and because there seemed no other way Congress began, early in the war, to issue paper currency; that is, to pay its debts with promissory notes which were to be redeemed in gold when the war was over. As the war went on, more and more of this paper money was issued. People began to be afraid that Congress could never redeem these notes, and to refuse to accept them in payment of debts. A paper dollar was no longer worth a dollar. In 1778 it took six or eight of them to buy a dollar's worth of goods, and before the war was

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over ten paper dollars were worth only one cent. Still Congress kept on issuing more notes, until a piece of "Continental money" became the symbol of worthless things, and we still sometimes hear people say, "not worth a Continental."

Washington and Lafayette at Valley Forge

Of course it was hard to get soldiers to reenlist when their terms expired, since only worthless paper money could be given them to send home to their families, and since even food and clothing were almost impossible to obtain in the camps, for, in the matter of supplies, the army suffered terribly in the winter which followed Howe's taking of Philadelphia. Late in the autumn, Washington had taken his soldiers into camp for the winter at Valley Forge, a natural fortress in the hills, only about twenty miles from Phila-
Winter at Valley Forge, 1777-1778

delphia. The winter was a dreary one. Little huts of boughs were built by the men, who clustered about the camp fires to keep from freezing, and often sat up all night because they had no blankets in which to wrap their shivering forms. The snow was deep, and many of the men had no shoes, so that they left bloody tracks behind them on the snowy ground. Many were sick, and many died from lack of clothing.

The worst of this sad story is that much of the suffering was unnecessary. Congress was making many mistakes in these days, and one of them was in its management of army supplies. Incompetent men were appointed to take charge of them, with the result that men suffered and died sometimes for lack of things which they might have had if affairs had been properly managed.

Congress was no longer the body of great men it had once been. Many of the greatest of its early members were now serving in other fields, — in the army, as was Washington; in the state governments, as were Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry; or abroad, as was Franklin, who was in France, urging the French government to come out openly as the ally of the United States. The Congress had lost much in power and influence, and it often did very foolish things.

The winter at Valley Forge was a dreary one for Washington as well as for his soldiers. Not only did he have to see the suffering he could not relieve, and the mistakes of Congress that he could not rectify, but personal enemies of Washington were appearing in his army and in Congress, who plotted at nothing less than his downfall. Gates, the "hero of Saratoga," as he was called, though he had done little to deserve the title, was very popular at this time, and his vain, jealous ambition led him to believe that he might be commander in chief. His schemes, and those of his friends, were finally overthrown, and Washington placed more firmly than ever in the hearts of the people, but the matter was a source of worry to the great commander through much of the winter.

There was a silver lining even to the dark cloud which hung over Valley Forge. In February Franklin succeeded in making a French treaty of alliance with France. That meant money and soldiers and a fleet to aid Washington and his army. The French had come at last to believe that the Revolution might succeed. The news of the treaty put renewed courage into the hearts of the men at Valley Forge, and new vigor into

their daily drill; for they were drilling, in spite of cold, and snow, and suffering. A foreign officer, Baron Steuben, had lately joined Washington's staff, and he was the drillmaster. Few better could have been found, and so heartily did he work, and so faithfully did the men follow his commands, that when the army left Valley Forge the next June, it was a stronger, better army than it had ever been before.

Baron Steuben

So much fault had been found in England with Howe's conduct of the last year's campaign, that in the spring of 1778 he resigned his position, and went home to explain matters. This left Sir Henry Clinton in charge of the British forces. All winter the British soldiers in Philadelphia had remained idle. Indeed, there was nothing that they could do with Washington close by in his snow-bound camp at Valley Forge. So it was a winter of idleness, of comfort and merry-making in the Quaker City,—all of which may have been pleasant, but did not accomplish much toward conquering the Americans.

In June Clinton resolved to leave Philadelphia, and rejoin the rest of the British forces in New York. The Philadelphia Tories,

who had been spending a gay winter entertaining the British officers, did not dare remain behind when the soldiers went, so Clinton sent three thousand of them with his fleet to New York, while he set out with his army to march across New Jersey. Washington saw a chance to strike a blow at Clinton's retreating army, and so perhaps win a great victory. After taking possession of Philadelphia he set out with his now well-trained soldiers, and by rapid marching gained a position where he could attack Clinton.

The battle of Monmouth followed, and but for one thing might have been the brilliant victory for which Washington hoped. This one thing was the presence of General Charles Lee. This mischief-maker had not made trouble enough, it seemed. When exchanged by the British he had come back unquestioned to his place in the army, since no one knew of his treacherous dealings with Howe, and since Washington was generous enough to overlook his former disobedience. The battle of Monmouth ended his career in the Continental army, however; for, through his flat disobedience of orders, the Americans came near suffering a disastrous defeat. This would probably have happened had not Lafayette, seeing the strange behavior of Lee, hastened to warn Washington. Coming up with all haste to the scene, Washington sharply reprimanded Lee, and ordered him off the field. Then rallying the retreating men, he prevented defeat, though it was too late to think of a real victory. Something had been accomplished, however, and Lee had failed of any result except his own downfall.

Battle at
Monmouth,
June 28,
1778

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The new nation suffered from lack of an effective government.
2. Money for expenses was hard to obtain. The paper money issued by Congress soon became worthless.
3. France at last entered into a treaty of alliance with the United States.

4. Washington's army spent the winter following Howe's taking of Philadelphia at Valley Forge in Pennsylvania. The soldiers suffered much from lack of food and clothing. They, however, spent the winter profitably in drilling under Baron Steuben.

5. The following summer the British left Philadelphia and took their force back to New York. Washington attacked them on the way, but neither side could claim a victory.

THINGS TO READ

1. "The Story of the Revolution," Lodge, pp. 303-306, 312-324; Vol. II, pp. 169, 170.
2. "The American Revolution," Fiske, Vol. II, pp. 50-56, 197-199.
3. "George Washington," Scudder, pp. 170-193.
4. "A Short History of the Revolution," Tomlinson, pp. 227-248.
5. "George Washington," Hale, pp. 213-225.
6. "Famous American Statesmen," Bolton, pp. 38-66.
7. "Boys of '76," Coffin, pp. 254-261.
8. "George Washington," Hapgood, pp. 179-182, 189-193, 212-217.
9. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 283-289.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *negotiations*, *advisory*, *currency*, *promissory*, *redeemed*, *symbol*, *incompetent*, *rectify*, *treacherous*.
2. Review the war to this point by means of your maps.
3. Contrast the condition of the British and the American soldiers during the winter following Burgoyne's surrender.
4. Write on the subject, "War is not all Fighting."
[Reread the first half of Chapter XVIII before you write.]
 - I. Obtaining soldiers — keeping them when once enlisted.
 - II. Supplies — necessity — management.
 - III. Money — why needed — ways of obtaining it.

XIX

BATTLES ON LAND AND SEA

SINCE the failure of Burgoyne's expedition, the idea of gaining control of the Hudson had been entirely abandoned by the British. One of the first results of Burgoyne's surrender was a proposal by Lord North in Parliament, to send over commissioners to America who should try to bring about a peace. He proposed to repeal all the acts that had made the trouble and to give up forever the right to tax the colonies. The Tory party was still anxious to carry on the war, believing that the Americans must be conquered first, and then, if ever, given the rights for which they were fighting. Among the Whigs some believed that it would be better to let the colonies become independent, as they proposed; others that England would lose forever her commercial power if the colonies were lost, and that they must, therefore, be kept at any cost.

Parliament voted to carry out Lord North's proposals, and the commissioners came to America. It was too late — Congress refused to listen to any proposals which did not first acknowledge independence for the states. The commissioners could do nothing but return to England. There was great wrath in the Tory party, and especially among the king's friends at this, and it was resolved that the rest of the war should be so carried on as to make the colonies glad to beg for peace on any terms.

It was to be destructive warfare of the worst kind — destroying towns and villages; burning homes and capturing or murdering their peaceful occupants; it was to be, on the frontier, Indian warfare with all its horrors — anything that would exhaust the "rebels," and so force them to give up. In the story

of the remaining years of the war we read of dreadful massacres — Wyoming and Cherry Valley, for example — in which Indians and Tories vied with each other in cruelty; of such deeds as the destruction of Martha's Vineyard, New Bedford, and Fairhaven in Massachusetts, and of Portsmouth and Norfolk in Virginia; of the butchery of prisoners, unworthy of a civilized age. Some of the states suffered terribly, but the plan of the ministry to "tire the Americans out" was more or less of a failure, nevertheless.

In connection with these scattered raids, the ministry had but one definite plan. This was to gain possession of the Southern colonies, so that they might at least keep them, even if the Northern states should be lost. A complete account of the later years of the war would have to include many stories for which, though wonderfully interesting, we have not time to pause. But the war in the South, the capture for the Americans of the Northwest, and the war on the ocean must claim a little of our attention.

Very early in the war the British had attempted to strike one blow against the South. They had attacked Charleston, but had accomplished nothing. It was not until the autumn of 1778 that anything more was done in that part of the country. Then Clinton made his first move toward carrying out the plan of the ministry. Thirty-five hundred men were sent to Georgia, and it was not long before they were able to report the state conquered. Indeed, the cruel deeds of the soldiers had made it impossible for the people to remain in their homes unless they declared themselves on the king's side. Those who would not do this fled to the mountains, leaving the British to plunder their deserted property.

South Carolina was next in the plan, and Clinton considered this of sufficient importance to demand his own presence. He therefore set out with eight thousand men to join the force already

in the South. Washington sent to South Carolina all the men he could spare, making, with the assistance of the militia, seven thousand men to defend the city of Charleston; but the British had almost twice as many, and in May, 1780, succeeded not only in taking the city, but with it the entire American army. "We look upon America as at our feet," said an English statesman; and surely this was a heavy blow to the United States. Clinton returned to New York, leaving Cornwallis with five thousand men to complete the conquest of the South.

Discouraging as the outlook was for the Americans, it was clear that another army must be raised to defend the Southern states. Washington did not dare go himself with his army, lest Clinton should seize the opportunity to attempt once more to gain possession of the Hudson; but he sent two thousand more men from his force, and called for militia from all the states south of Pennsylvania. Washington wished to send Nathanael Greene to take command of this new Southern army, but Congress, believing him to be inferior to Gates, who was still known by his undeserved title of the "Hero of Saratoga," sent Gates instead.

"Take care," said Gates's now disgraced friend, Charles Lee, "that your Northern laurels do not change to Southern willows."

And Gates needed to take care, for he had none of the military

genius Congress believed him to have. He made mistake after mistake, with the result that in August, 1780, a second Southern army was captured, and its hero commander was in full flight across the country, riding two hundred miles in less than four



days before he came to a stop. Southern willows, indeed! This was the worst defeat the Americans had yet suffered, and it put an end to all notions of the genius of Gates.

What should be done now? Should the British be left to make a triumphal march up through the Carolinas into Vir-

ginia, and
Marion and Sumter perhaps even farther? There was nothing to prevent except the little bands of fighters under such leaders as Marion and Sumter. It was a picturesque sort of warfare they carried on, dashing out from their hiding places in the woods and swamps, making sudden raids on parties of British soldiers often twice as numerous as their own, capturing prisoners or provisions, and disappearing again into the dark forest, leaving confusion behind them. Cornwallis found



the "Swamp Fox," as Marion was called, a very annoying sort of animal, and is reported to have said, "But for Sumter and Marion, South Carolina would be at peace!"

Not long after the defeat of Gates at Camden, Cornwallis started for North Carolina, leaving behind a small force of soldiers who were to gather together as many Tories as possible and then follow him. But Major Ferguson, who was in charge of these troops, suddenly found himself in the midst of a party of

American backwoodsmen, — three thousand of them, ready as the men of Vermont had been at Bennington and those of the Mohawk Valley at Oriskany, to defend their homes against attack.

The British, who were only about eleven hundred in number, began to retreat with all possible speed, but it was too late. Finding that he must fight, Ferguson took up his position on King's Mountain, which seemed from its height and position impossible to storm. The Americans, however, succeeded in their attack upon it, though the British bravely defended the position. It was a complete victory for the backwoodsmen, and of the entire British force all were either killed or captured. Then, the danger to homes and loved ones being over, the backwoodsmen returned to their usual employment.

Great as the services of these men were, however; they alone could not keep the British from carrying out their plans. Still another army must be raised, and once more Washington had the hard problem to face.

We shall be glad to turn from the story of disaster in the South to an account of success in the Northwest. We remember that by the Quebec Act, passed by Parliament in 1774, the Ohio Valley was made part of Canada. And it was now most important to the British to keep this wild country, especially if the Americans should gain their independence. To do this, every effort was made by the British to drive American settlers out of the valley, and to keep the country in the hands of their own soldiers.

But it was equally important to the new American nation to get control of the country for which the colonists had fought so well in the French war. And though the British were in full possession, and though no men could be spared from the Continental army to attempt the work, a brave and daring backwoodsman of Virginia, George Rogers Clark, determined to under-

take it. He gathered a band of two hundred volunteers, and set out to capture the British posts. The story of his adventures is full of interest, and the work he accomplished for America is worthy of our admiration. For, thanks to his courage and perseverance, the spring of 1779 found the Ohio Valley in American hands, where it was destined ever to remain.

Leaving for a time these American battle fields, let us consider some of England's difficulties on her side of the ocean, and some stirring

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Expedition of George Rogers Clark

by the great European powers. We

have already seen how glad France was to take the field against her ancient enemy. Since the beginning of 1778, England had then not only the American war, but one with France on her hands. The next year the French government had persuaded England's still more bitter foe, Spain, to join the company of England's antagonists. Spain had, it is true, no love for the American states, and the Spanish government would form no alliance with them; but it was ready enough to join France in humiliating England.

Nor was this all. Even with the American states and France and Spain against her, England — and England means the king, Lord North, and their friends and advisers — proceeded to pick a

quarrel with Holland which speedily led to war. It began to look as though England would have to fight single-handed against the whole continent of Europe. Nothing but her great strength on the ocean could have made it possible for her to oppose so many foes, and even as it was, the scattering of her ships and her soldiers in many parts of the world threatened to cripple her resources.

The thought of England's naval power leads us to consider the little navy of America and its great hero, Paul Jones. ~~the ocean~~ War on

At the beginning of the war there was no American navy, and this lack was keenly felt in many of the critical moments of the war. In most of their movements the British soldiers were supported by their ships of war, which offered a protection the Americans could not overcome.

Plans for establishing a navy were early made by Congress, but we have already seen how seldom Congress was able to carry out its plans. In the course of the war some forty vessels were enrolled in the Continental navy, most of them small, all poorly equipped, and manned by crews gathered wherever men could be obtained. But these poor vessels, with their ill-assorted crews, did some good work during the war. They were often aided by private cruisers, and did much to disturb the commerce of the "mistress of the seas."

In 1779 occurred the first battle of any importance between English and American ships of war. Paul Jones, with a fleet of five vessels, had been sailing about the coasts of England, doing

From a painting by Charles Peale in
Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

more or less damage. His flagship was an old merchant vessel, bought by the French government, made over, renamed the *Bon-*

The Bon- *homme*
homme Rich- *Richard*
ard and the *in honor*
Serapis *of Frank-*

lin, and lent to the American navy. His crew is said to have included, not only men from almost every country of Europe, but several Malays.

While cruising about the coast, a fleet of English merchant ships, guarded by two ships of war, was sighted. Jones immediately gave chase, and the two frigates turned about, ready to fight. Leaving the smaller of the two, Jones attacked the *Serapis*, a larger,

Battle between *Serapis* and *Bonhomme Richard*

newer ship than his own, well equipped and manned by a well-trained crew. The fight lasted for more than three hours. At the end of the first hour the two ships came together with a crash. In the moment before they drifted apart, the captain of the *Serapis* called out, "Have you struck your colors?" "I have not yet begun to fight," was Jones's reply.

Once more the ships collided, and Jones was quick enough this time to have them lashed together before they should separate. The battle became a desperate hand-to-hand encounter. Both ships were disabled. More than half the men engaged were killed. But Jones's dogged perseverance won the day, and his fame quickly spread through Europe as well as in the land he was fighting to save.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. A new policy of "destructive warfare" on the part of the British resulted in the destroying of much life and property.
2. The conquest of the South was attempted; Georgia was conquered and a strong foothold in South Carolina gained. The entire Southern division of the American army was captured; and a second Southern army under Gates shared the same fate.
3. The South was left with no defenders save small bands of fighters under such men as Marion and Sumter.
4. A party of volunteers under George Rogers Clark captured the Ohio Valley for the United States.
5. England was now at war with the Americans, the French, the Spanish, and the Dutch. This scattered her ships and her soldiers to all parts of the world.
6. The Americans fought some battles with the British on the sea. Of these the most famous is that between the *Bonhomme Richard* and the *Serapis*. By this Paul Jones became famous as a naval commander.

THINGS TO READ

1. About the war in the South.
 - "The Story of the Revolution," Lodge, Vol. II, pp. 48-55.
 - "Stories of the Old Dominion," Cooke, pp. 289-297.
 - "The Boston Tea Party," Watson, pp. 126-134.
 - "A Short History of the Revolution," Tomlinson, pp. 319-326.
 - "Hero Tales from American History," Lodge and Roosevelt, pp. 71-78.
 - "Song of Marion's Men," Bryant.
 - "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 301-308.
2. About the conquest of the Northwest.
 - "The Conquest of the Old Northwest," Baldwin, pp. 145-178.

"The Story of the Revolution," Lodge, Vol. III, pp. 7-28.

"Hero Tales from American History," Lodge and Roosevelt, pp. 31-41.

3. About the war on the ocean.

"A Short History of the Revolution," Tomlinson, pp. 387-397.

"Four American Naval Heroes," Beebe, pp. 17-68.

"Twelve Naval Captains," Seawell, pp. 1-27.

"American Fights and Fighters," Brady, pp. 39-55.

"History of the United States," Elson, pp. 294-296.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *commissioners, destructive, vied, triumphal, picturesque, antagonists, equipped, frigates*.

2. Prepare yourself to write clearly an outline of the new British plan.

3. Try to think out why the British failed to "tire the Americans out."

4. Discuss the question: Why would the South be likely to be more easily conquered than the North?

5. Find the meaning of Lee's allusion to *laurels and willows*.

6. Find the meaning of *Bonhomme Richard*, and why giving that name to Jones's ship should have been considered an honor to Franklin.

7. Discuss the question: Why would it not have been better for Washington to leave some one in charge of the troops who were guarding the Hudson and to take command himself of the Southern army?

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

Write an account of one of the following: Clark's Conquest of the Northwest. Massacres at Wyoming or Cherry Valley. The Fight between the *Bonhomme Richard* and the *Serapis*.

XX

AN AMERICAN MOUSE TRAP AND A BRITISH MOUSE

THE aid expected from the French had thus far not been of much assistance to the Americans. The fleet, which would have helped Washington so much, had made only two flying visits, in both of which it had failed to be of any use; and of soldiers, France sent none until July, 1780. Even then the six thousand who came under the command of Count Rochambeau were detained for a year where they landed in Rhode Island, before they could be of any service to Washington.

It was almost a hopeless moment for the Americans when, through the stupidity of Gates, a second Southern army was destroyed, and Cornwallis left master of the South. **Arnold's** And scarcely had this blow fallen when another **treason, Sep-** came to startle the country and to sadden the heart **tember, 1780** of the great commander. This time it was treachery in an officer who had been honored for his bravery and trusted, even admired, by the great chief himself. Benedict Arnold, the hero of Quebec and of Saratoga, beloved by his men, and known even among the British as the "fighting general," had somehow been transformed into the blackest of traitors. This is the story: —

Even before his part in the campaign against Burgoyne, Arnold had felt that he was unjustly treated by Congress, as no doubt he was. In that campaign we remember his treatment by Gates, and have no difficulty in believing that he grew more dissatisfied under it. Returning to Washington's camp after the Northern campaign was over, the great general assured him of his continued respect and approbation; and when Clinton left Philadelphia in June, Arnold, who was still unfit for active duty because of his

wound received at Saratoga, was placed in command there. Just when the evil thoughts which afterward proved his ruin first began to come into his mind we cannot tell; but perhaps his falling in love and his marriage with a beautiful young lady belonging to a Tory family may have had something to do with it. Congress still continued to regard him with disfavor, and he

The Hudson at West Point

grew bitter in his feeling toward it. He resolved to have revenge. Obtaining from Washington the command of West Point, the strongest American position on the Hudson, he seems to have deliberately planned to betray it to the enemy.

Letters passed between him and Clinton, and at length a young British officer, Major André, was sent to meet Arnold, and make the final arrangements. On his way back André was captured, and the papers Arnold had given him were found in

his stockings. Receiving word that André was taken, Arnold had barely time to escape to a British man-of-war in the river. His unhappy wife was left in a swoon, into which the hastily told story of his treachery had thrown her.

The treason had failed, and Arnold had succeeded only in accomplishing his own downfall. Joining the British army, he fought against his countrymen, and when the war was over went to live in England. Neither he nor those who knew him could ever forget his black deed. Despised by others and even by himself, he led a miserable life. On his deathbed he asked for his old Continental uniform; putting it on, he added the epaulets and shoulder knots presented him by Washington after Saratoga.

"Let me die in this old uniform," he said, "in which I fought my battles. May God forgive me for ever putting on any other."

André was hanged as a spy. No one who reads the sad story of this handsome and accomplished young officer can but feel saddened at his untimely fate; but the law of war-time is inexorable. As a spy he was captured, as a spy he had to die.

In spite of treachery and disaster, in spite of the discontent of his soldiers, who were still scantily clothed, half starved, and receiving little, if any, pay, Washington set to work on the problem waiting to be solved in the South. Gates had succeeded in gathering together again about fourteen hundred of his soldiers. The militia of the neighboring states were beginning to assemble to defend their homes. To this foundation of an army Washington again sent reënforcements, and best of all, a **Greene** given corps of the ablest officers in the service. **Greene** command in was in command, and under him Morgan, who had **the South** been with Arnold in Canada and at Saratoga, and who was renowned for his courage and daring; Henry Lee ("Light-horse Harry" he was called), a young officer who was a universal favorite, because of the deeds he and his perfectly trained cavalry had done; and Colonel William Washington, another fine cavalry officer, and a distant relative of the commander-in-chief. Baron

Steuben was sent to Virginia, and later Lafayette, "the boy," as Cornwallis called him, was placed in the same state. At last the South was to see something accomplished. The dark days of winter and disaster were soon to give way to the brighter light of spring and victory.

Scarcely had the new year begun when Morgan with half the little army won a brilliant victory at the Cowpens, January 17, 1781, over a division of

the British forces sent by Cornwallis to oppose him. Hope began to revive. Greene, meanwhile, by a series of retreats worthy of Washington himself, had been luring Cornwallis to follow him farther and farther to the northward. In February Morgan joined him,



and after a month more of eluding every effort of Cornwallis to fight, reinforcements arrived, and Greene was ready for battle. And when the fight was over, though Greene could not claim a victory, he had succeeded in cutting down Cornwallis's force to scarcely sixteen hundred men,—an army too small to risk another battle, too small to dare attempt the long march back to South Carolina, and too small to stay so far from the fleet and among a people as unfriendly as those of North Carolina.

Hastening to Wilmington, Cornwallis decided that the only thing for him to do was to abandon the Carolinas for the moment and to start anew in Virginia. He accordingly set out for that state. Much to his astonishment, Greene did not follow him, but turned once more to South Carolina, where he soon

succeeded in winning back the whole state except Charleston, which was guarded by the British fleet.

Cornwallis, meanwhile, with reënforcements which gave him a force of five thousand men, was all intent upon conquering Virginia. First of all he would defeat Lafayette. "The Cornwallis at boy cannot escape me," he said. But the boy not Yorktown only escaped, but led Cornwallis up and down the state until the British general was

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-----Greene -->-->-->Cornwallis long-expected French fleet was on its way from the West Indies.

A daring, almost a wonderful, plan leaped into Washington's mind. If the French fleet could be sent to Yorktown, if Lafayette's force on the land could be made too strong for Cornwallis to break

through, if Washington himself with his army and that of Rochambeau could only get there in time — it was the chance of a lifetime! And the great commander decided to make the attempt.

It was a hazardous game; but, if it should succeed, it would be the greatest achievement of the war. Should it fail — but it

Washington's Headquarters at Newburg

should not fail! On the last day of August the great French fleet appeared in the Chesapeake. No escape for the British by sea, unless the British fleet could destroy that of the French. That was tried, and it failed. Across the narrow neck of the peninsula Lafayette now took his stand with a force numbering eight thousand men. Cornwallis was in a trap. Should he try to break through Lafayette's line? It would mean a heavy loss of life. Surely the British fleet would return and let him escape by sea. If not, he would then attack "the boy."

But though Cornwallis had no idea of such a thing, Washington himself was on the way. Leaving only a small guard at West Point, Washington had begun the march which was to make his daring plan a brilliant success. Not a man in the force of six thousand men knew where the swift march was to lead them. Washington dared trust the secret to no one save Rochambeau. Clinton was uneasy, and feared an attack upon New York. Washington was halfway across New Jersey before it became clear that New

Washington's March to Yorktown

York was not his destination. He had reached Philadelphia before the greatness of his plan was apparent. Clinton saw the game at last, but it was too late. He was powerless.

On the 5th of September the army had reached the head of the Chesapeake. From this point the soldiers were carried in ships to the place which was now being watched with breathless interest. Cornwallis had lost his last chance. Day by day fresh troops arrived to strengthen the door of the trap, until, by September 26, sixteen thousand men were massed across the peninsula's narrow neck.

The game was won. Cornwallis could do nothing but surrender. Closer and closer the Americans ap-

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The Surrender of Cornwallis
From the painting by Trumbull.

AN AMERICAN MOUSE TRAP AND A BRITISH MOUSE 237

proached the British force. The roar of cannon added its summons to the besieged commander. On the 17th of October, 1781, the end was reached, and Cornwallis's whole force was surrendered to the allied armies of the United States and France.

Yorktown
surrendered,
October 17,
1781

Even as in 1776 the campaign around Boston had failed; as the same year the attempt to break through the line of the Hudson had proved fruitless; as in 1777 the carefully planned campaign of Burgoyne had ended in utter disaster; so now the plan to redeem the South must take its place with the rest, an absolute failure. More than six years had passed since the war began, and the British held no state but Georgia, and outside that state no foothold, save only Charleston and the city of New York.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. A third Southern army was formed. Greene, with a corps of able officers, went to take charge of it.
2. General Morgan gained a brilliant victory for the Americans at the battle of the Cowpens.
3. Greene drew Cornwallis into North Carolina, far from the British fleet.
4. Cornwallis decided to go on to Virginia. Greene did not follow him, but returned to recapture South Carolina.
5. Cornwallis took up a position at Yorktown, on a peninsula in Virginia.
6. Washington, with the aid of the French troops and of the French fleet, succeeded in hemming him in there. Cornwallis was obliged to surrender.

THINGS TO READ

1. "The American Revolution," Fiske, Vol. II, pp. 275-278.
2. "Stories of the Old Dominion," Cooke, pp. 298-334.
3. "American Leaders and Heroes," Gordy, pp. 189-207, 211-220.
4. "George Washington," Scudder, pp. 194-202.
5. "The Boys of '76," Coffin, pp. 303-333, 380-395.
6. "George Washington," Hale, pp. 244-247.
7. "A Short History of the Revolution," Tomlinson, pp. 264-316 333-386.

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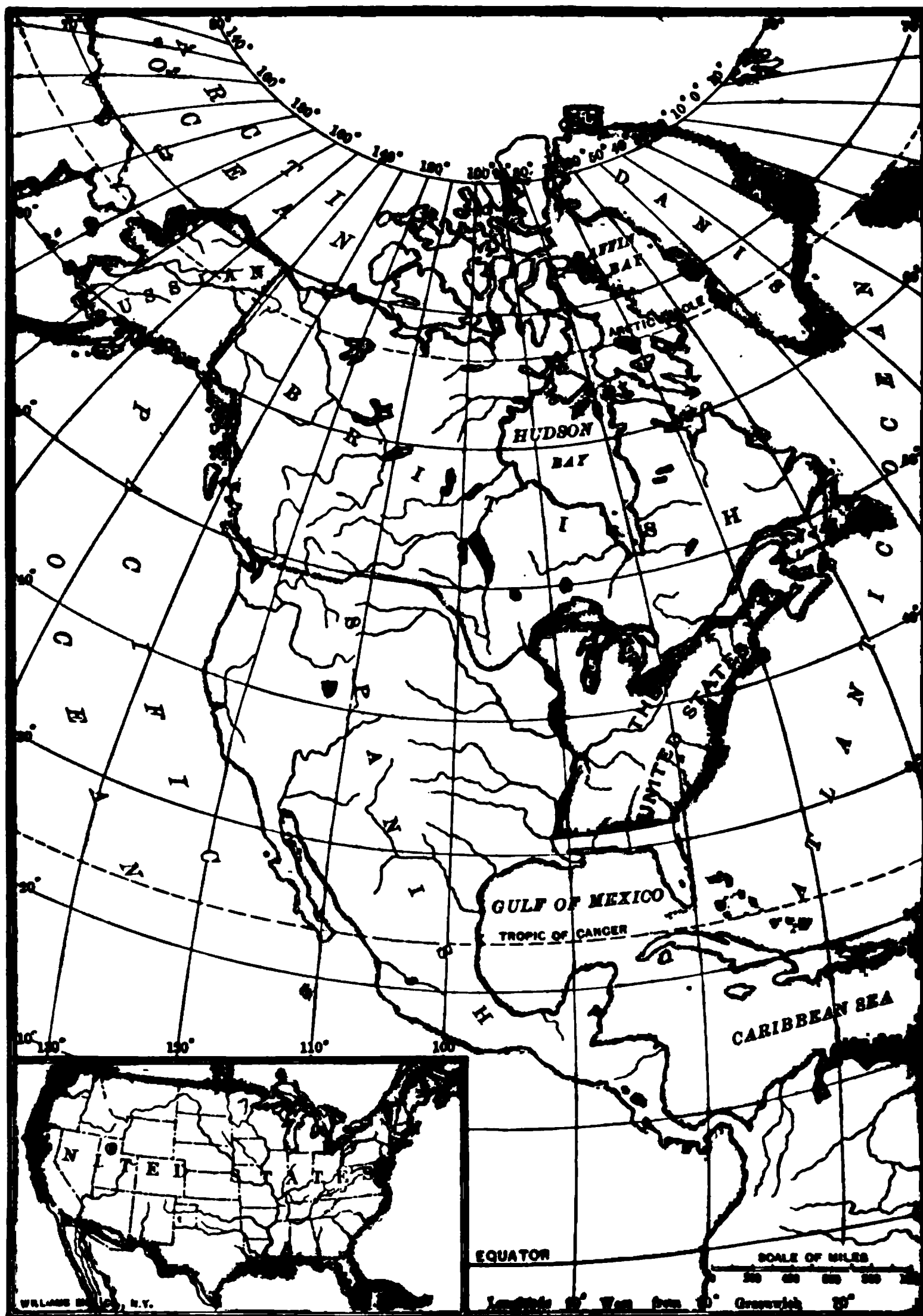
8. "The Boston Tea Party," Watson, pp. 135-151, 205-209.
9. "Hero Tales from American History," Lodge and Roosevelt, pp. 1-15
10. "True Story of Lafayette," Brooks.
11. "Two Spies," Lossing.
12. "A Great Treason," Hoppus.
13. "The Hero of Cowpens," McConkey.
14. "The War of Independence," Fiske, pp. 167-181.
15. "American Fights and Fighters," Brady, pp. 84-116, 143-159.
16. "George Washington," Hapgood, pp. 239-248, 258-268.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *approbation*, *corps*, *cavalry*, *luring*, *eluding*, *exasperated*, *hazardous*.
2. Discuss the question: In what ways did Greene show himself a great commander in his Southern campaign?
3. Place in your portfolio a portrait of Lafayette and a copy of Trumbull's picture of Cornwallis's surrender.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Show by a map how Cornwallis was hemmed in at Yorktown.
2. Make a list of the generals on each side during the war, as far as you know them. Try to recall briefly the career of each.
3. Write an account of the siege at Yorktown.
 - I. Cornwallis's position at Yorktown.
 - II. Who was there to oppose him — his force.
 - III. Washington's plan.
 - IV. How this plan was carried out.



North America at the Close of the Revolution (Treaty 1783)

XXI

PEACE

WHEN the news of Yorktown reached England in the latter part of November, there was great excitement and dismay. "It is all over," said Lord North. Such, indeed, seemed to be the opinion of every one except the king. He protested loudly that the war should go on, and to show how much he was in earnest began at once to plan a new campaign. Many people in England were, however, glad to see a chance of the war's coming to an end, while the friends of America in Parliament openly rejoiced.

There had been other news scarcely less distressing to the ministry than that from America. Misfortune seemed to come from all sides at once. There was revolt in the British possessions in India and trouble in Ireland. Spain had captured the last British post in Florida, and one of England's treasured islands in the Mediterranean. France was creating havoc in the West Indies, and was aiding Spain in besieging Gibraltar. Ships and soldiers were needed everywhere at once.

It was in vain that the king asserted he would give up his throne rather than acknowledge the independence of the United States. Public feeling was against him. Even Lord North refused any longer to carry out the king's ideas. There was no course open but to yield, so the king at last agreed, saying that the Americans were a wretched set of knaves and he was glad to be rid of them.

The work of making the treaty which should bring the war to a close was begun in the spring of 1782. There were many things to be considered, and since not only America, but her ally,

France, and not only France, but *her* ally, Spain, must be thought of, there were times when it seemed as though no conclusion would ever be reached. Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay represented the United States, and by their skill the new nation gained everything that it could reasonably ask, — independence, the territory between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi, and fishery rights off Newfoundland.

Negotiations
for peace,
1782-1783

Washington Resigning his Commission

The treaty was finally concluded at Paris in September, 1783. At last the American states were free. The liberties they had asserted in the Declaration of Independence, and for which they had fought so long and so well were theirs at last. The last page of the story of the Revolution was completed. But, as always happens, a new story was beginning, even before the old one reached its end. There is still a chapter in the story of the nation's birth to be told.

THE TREATY

England made, of course, three treaties, — with the United States, with France, and with Spain. We need take special note only of the American treaty.

ENGLAND	UNITED STATES
<i>Acknowledged</i> independence of the thirteen states.	<i>Gave</i> assurance of the payment of private debts.
<i>Gave</i> the territory between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi.	<i>Received</i> acknowledgment of independence, territory between Alleghenies and Mississippi.
<i>Received</i> assurance that private debts would be paid.	<i>Retained</i> right to fish on the banks of Newfoundland.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The news of Cornwallis's surrender was received with dismay by the British ministry.
2. England's European wars were also unsuccessful.
3. The people of England were anxious to have peace. The king was obliged to submit.
4. A treaty of peace was finally concluded in 1783, England acknowledging the independence of the United States.

THINGS TO READ

1. "George Washington," Scudder, pp. 203-218.
2. "A Short History of the Revolution," Tomlinson, pp. 398-407.
3. "The War of Independence," Fiske, p. 182.
4. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 311-317.
5. "George Washington," Hapgood, pp. 280-282.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *revolt*, *havoc*, *knaves*.
2. Review the Struggle for Independence, using the outline on page 242 as a basis.
3. Review Washington's career as commander-in-chief. What qualities did he show?

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Make a map to show the boundaries of United States territory, according to the treaty.
2. Copy the treaty for your notebook.
3. Write about some hero of the Revolution.

[Do not forget that the common people, who were neither generals nor statesmen, the soldiers whose highest service was obedience to orders, the women who struggled to till the little farms and to support their families while "father was gone to war," even the boys and girls who did the small things which fell to their lot to do in helping the great cause, were as much heroes in their way as the brilliant and the famous.]

OUTLINE

III. The Struggle for Independence.

- A. Cause.
- B. Events which led to the war.
- C. The war begun — campaign around Boston.
 1. Lexington and Concord, April 19, 1775.
 2. Bunker Hill.
 3. Expedition to Canada.
 4. Evacuation of Boston by the British.
- D. Independence.
- E. Campaign around New York.
 1. Importance of New York to each side.
 2. What the British accomplished in the campaign.
 3. What Washington accomplished.
- F. The New Jersey campaign.
 1. Washington's retreat; the British pursuit.
 2. Trenton ; Princeton.
 3. Results.
- G. The campaigns of 1777.
 1. Burgoyne reaches Fort Edward.
 - Victories — Crown Point and Ticonderoga.
 - Delay and defeat — Bennington.
 2. St. Leger besieges Fort Stanwix; his force is scattered.
 3. Howe's campaign around Philadelphia.
 4. Burgoyne's defeat, October, 1777.
- H. The winter at Valley Forge.

- I. Money affairs.**
- J. The French alliance.**
- K. The British in Philadelphia; their winter; why they left the city; battle of Monmouth.**
- L. Conquest of the Northwest.**
- M. War on the ocean.**
 - 1. The American navy ; Paul Jones.**
- N. War in the South.**
 - 1. Georgia conquered.**
 - 2. Charleston taken, and the Southern army of the Americans captured.**
 - 3. Gates utterly defeated at Camden.**
 - 4. Greene's campaign.**
 - a. Morgan's victory at the Cowpens.**
 - b. Greene and Cornwallis.**
 - 5. Cornwallis in Virginia.**
 - 6. Yorktown; the siege; the surrender.**
- O. Peace.**
 - 1. The treaty.**
 - 2. Boundaries of the new nation.**

THE CRITICAL PERIOD OF AMERICAN HISTORY

XXII

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

THROUGHOUT the story of the war for independence we have seen again and again the trouble which came from the lack of a government in the United States. There were the state governments, it is true, but if the states were to be united, and to act as one nation rather than thirteen, there must be some central power to make and keep them a harmonious whole.

At the time the Declaration of Independence was adopted, Congress recognized this need by appointing a committee to draw up a plan of united government which should be submitted to the states for their approval. This was no easy task. Though united against a common foe, the states were far from united in spirit. There had always been jealousies between Puritan New England and gay, pleasure-loving New York; between staid, sober Pennsylvania, and aristocratic, slaveholding Virginia. There were real quarrels, sometimes of long standing, over the boundaries of neighboring states. The Ohio country was claimed by no fewer than four of the thirteen. Each state was afraid that she would lose some of her rights if she agreed to a strong central government. None of the number was willing to be taxed by a central power. It was indeed a hard task to make a government which should please thirteen such warring elements, and at the same time be a government worthy of the name.

Difficult as the task was, however, the committee drew up what were called the Articles of Confederation, and not long after

Burgoyne's surrender, in 1777, the Articles were sent to the states for approval. There was much discussion, but in March, 1781, about six months before Cornwallis surrendered, the last of the thirteen states ratified the plan.

The Articles of Confederation are often spoken of as the "League of Friendship." Each of the thirteen members of the League was still to be a "sovereign state," and the central government was to be a Congress, made up of delegates appointed yearly by the states. The number of delegates representing the various states varied from two to seven, but the number made little difference, since, however many there were, the state had but one vote. No law on any subject could be passed without the consent of nine of the thirteen states.

The Articles
of Confeder-
ation adopted,
1781

Congress was to declare war and make peace, make treaties, and regulate the value of coins. It was also to control the army, but could raise soldiers only by calling upon the states for them, as the Continental Congress had done during the Revolution. The power of taxation was to be exercised entirely by the states.

Spanish Coin

French Coin

In use in America during the Revolution.

Congress again might ask for money, assessing each state in proportion to the value of its real estate, but it was quite powerless if the states did not pay the tax. The states, also, as well as Congress, were to have the power of coining money or of issuing

paper currency and requiring its acceptance in payment of debts. Last of all, the Articles could be changed or amended only by consent of all the thirteen states.

This, then, was the government under which the United States began its independent existence. It is worthy of study if we would understand the story of the years immediately following its adoption.

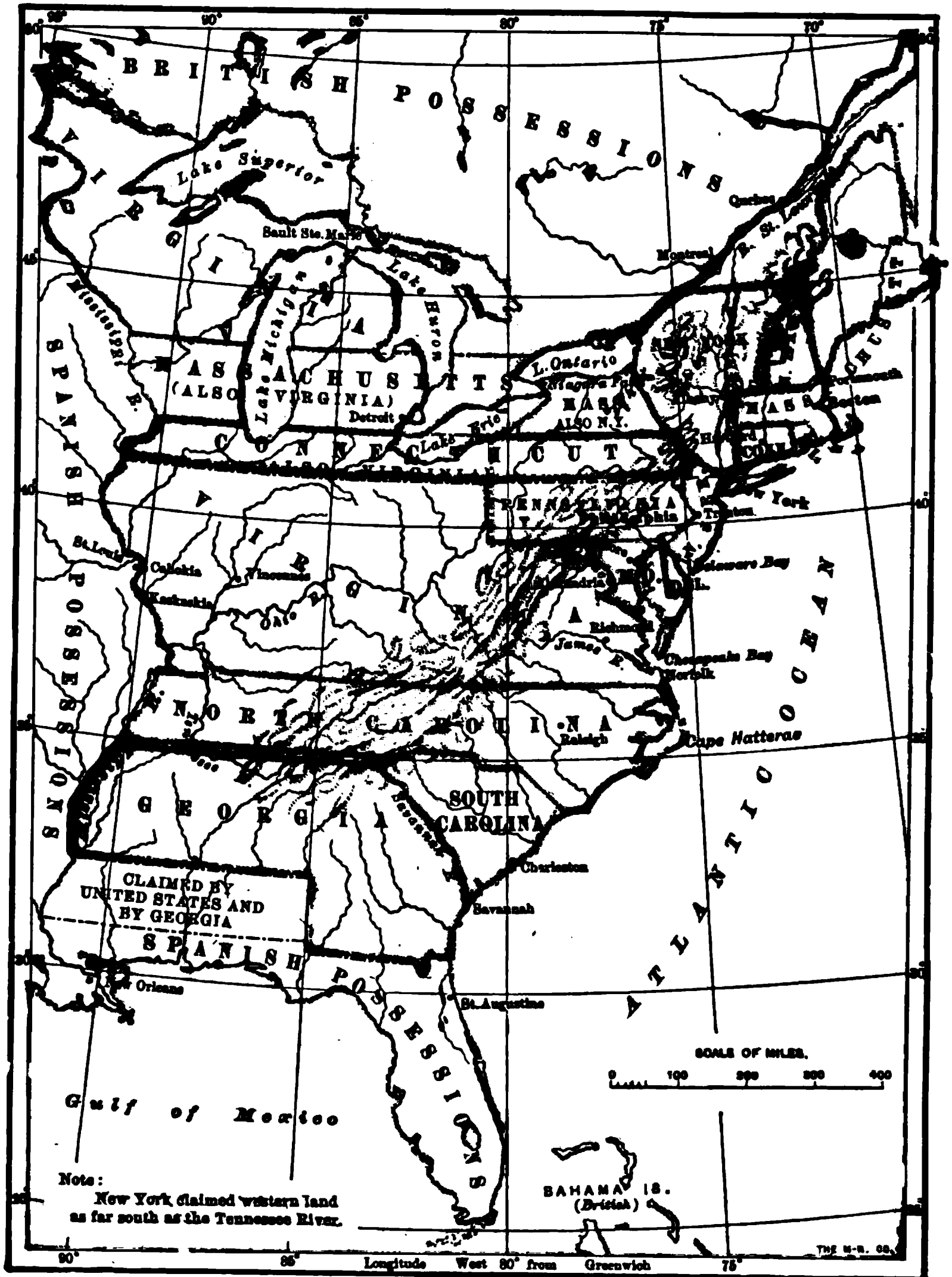
**POWERS HELD BY CONGRESS AND THE STATES UNDER THE ARTICLES
OF CONFEDERATION**

CONGRESS	STATES
Lawmaking (with 9 votes out of 13). Declaring war and peace. Making treaties. Controlling army. Maintaining navy. Coining money. Asking states for money and soldiers.	Raising money by taxation. Imposing duties on imports. Raising an army. Coining money. Regulating all commercial affairs.

The weak points in the Articles of Confederation were not long in showing themselves. All through the war under the Government the country had suffered from having no government, but its sufferings were small in comparison with the utter confusion which soon succeeded the coming of peace.

There were commercial difficulties and financial difficulties and quarrels between states. The people everywhere were poor, and in many cases their farms had been ruined or their business entirely stopped by the war.

Commerce with England was at a standstill, and in spite of the efforts of John Adams, who was sent as our first minister to England, the English government would do nothing to change the navigation laws which had made so much trouble. Indeed, the



CLAIMS AND CESSIONS.

English government looked with apparent satisfaction upon the commercial distress in America. Many English statesmen predicted a speedy falling apart of the Union, and the return of the states one by one to ask the protection of the mother country.

There was no way in which the new nation could compel England to enter into fair commercial relations with her. She could not even make laws against British ships and owners, as the British had done against those of America. If any such laws were to be made, it would have to be done by each of the thirteen states, since Congress was given no power in regard to commercial affairs. And there was little likelihood of the thirteen states agreeing upon the matter. They could not even agree in regard to commerce among themselves. Connecticut had laid a duty upon goods brought from Massachusetts; Pennsylvania, on those from Delaware; while New York and Rhode Island were like greedy children, reaching out to seize whatever they could lay their hands on.

Fortunately one source of dispute had been adjusted at the time the Articles were adopted. This was the ownership of the Northwest Territory. The people of Maryland had done a great service to the country by insisting that all conflicting claims to the Ohio country be given up to the general government. All had fought for it, therefore all should share in the benefits from it. And since Maryland refused to agree to the Articles of Confederation unless these claims were abandoned, the states gave them up.

In 1787 Congress passed laws providing for the government of the Northwest Territory. It was, as settlement warranted, to be divided into five states. Freedom in religious matters The Ordinance was provided for; education was to be encouraged; of 1787 and, most important of all, slavery was forever prohibited. This Ordinance of 1787, as it is known, was the most important act of the government under the Confederation.

The feeling between the various states grew more and more

bitter, and the boundary disputes were waged more fiercely. Congress was powerless to settle any of the difficulties. It could not even collect the money necessary to pay the government expenses. Many of the states paid no attention to the calls of Congress for money, and when they did notice these demands it was almost impossible to collect taxes from the poverty-stricken

people. There was very little money in the country, and that little was made up of all sorts of coins, — English, German, Spanish, French, — making a confusion of values that was somewhat distracting to an ordinary mind. Nor was this all. Many of the states, in the hope of bettering affairs, began issuing paper currency. Thus to the confusion of foreign coins, which had at least some value, was added that of half a dozen issues of paper money, which soon came to have no value at all.

Alexander Hamilton

The country was in a sad state. The government, distrusted at home, despised abroad, was almost worse than no government. The people everywhere were in debt, and they grew daily more and more discontented. Finally a large body of Massachusetts farmers tried to lessen their troubles by rising against the state government. They banded together, with Daniel Shays, a Revolutionary captain, as their leader, and for six or seven months they marched about western Massachusetts, preventing the courts from meeting and plundering the country wherever they went.

Shays's
Rebellion

The whole nation became alarmed. What had happened in Massachusetts was likely to happen in any of the states. Clearly the Confederation was not a success. Washington and Franklin urged that something be done to strengthen the national government before it should be too late. Two younger men, Alexander Hamilton of New York, and James Madison of Virginia, worked persistently toward the same end. Most of the states still opposed a strong central government, but it was evident that something must be done.

Reluctantly, therefore, all the states except Rhode Island sent delegates to Philadelphia to devise means for improving the government. These delegates made up what is known as the Federal Convention, and the work this convention did gave us the foundation of our government to-day.

James Madison

If we would understand the years of progress and prosperity which came when the Federal Convention had done its work, and the states had taken the Constitution it devised as the law of the land, we must diligently study that Constitution, the cornerstone of our national life.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. Under the Articles of Confederation the states held most of the power, and Congress very little.
2. Congress was especially weak in the fact that it could not enforce its own laws, and had no part in controlling commerce.
3. The Articles of Confederation were not a success.
4. Commerce with foreign nations was almost entirely stopped. Congress could of course do nothing to improve this state of affairs, and it

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seemed impossible for the states to agree on anything relating to commercial matters.

5. The states were jealous of one another, and made laws which destroyed domestic commerce. The people everywhere were poor and in debt. Money was scarce, and taxes could not be collected. There was great distress. The issuing of paper money by Congress and by many of the states made things still worse.

6. There was in Massachusetts a rebellion of poor people against the state government. It was feared that this might happen in any or all of the states.

7. The necessity of a new government was at last acknowledged by most of the people.

THINGS TO READ

1. "George Washington," Scudder, pp. 219-225.
2. "The Critical Period of American History," Fiske, pp. 108-112.
3. "The Story of Massachusetts," Hale, pp. 300-303.
4. "Stories of the Old Bay State," Brooks, pp. 156-165.
5. "The War of Independence," Fiske, pp. 182-190.
6. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 318-326.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *financial*, *plundering*, *persistently*, *devise*, *critical*.
2. Discuss the questions: Why would the issue of paper money afford no real relief? Why should this time be called the "critical period"?
3. Prepare yourself to write clearly your opinion as to the reason for the failure of the Articles of Confederation.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Copy the statement of distribution of power under the Articles of Confederation.
2. State the faults of the Articles.

XXIII

FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION

IN May, 1787, the delegates to the Federal Convention assembled in Philadelphia, in the old Statehouse, where the Continental Congress had held its meetings. Once more the staid old Quaker City was to see the meeting of some of the country's greatest men. Once more the walls of "Independence Hall," as we call it now, were to ring with the discussion of great questions. For now, no less than in the days preceding the Declaration of Independence, was America facing a crisis. The work to be done was serious work, and upon it was to rest the history of the future. Should it be shameful history of civil war and anarchy, or the glorious story of a nation loved by her people and honored by the world?

The members having all, or nearly all, arrived, the convention was called to order, and Washington was elected its president. It was decided that the proceedings of the assembly should be kept secret, that the delegates might be quite free from the restriction of public opinion in their various states. In September the work which had been done was made public and sent to the states for their consideration. Not until more than fifty years had passed did the story of the discussions which led to this result come to the knowledge of the people.

**The Federal
Convention,
May to Sep-
tember, 1787**

It will help us to understand the Constitution if we consider some of the questions its makers had to face and see how they met them. First of all, the Articles of Confederation had been a compact between states, and all its laws had been made to operate upon states and not upon individuals. Here was one reason,

and the greatest reason, why Congress had been so powerless to carry out its decrees. Individuals who break the laws under which they live can be punished; they can be fined or sent to prison. But who could imprison a state which refused to obey the law? Or of what use would it be to fine a state when Congress had no power to make the state pay the fine? The great minds of the nation began to see that the central government must somehow be empowered to make laws which should be binding upon individuals, regardless of the state in which they lived. If this were true, then must not the central government, or at least the lawmaking part of it, be made up of representatives, not of the states, but of the people of the states as individuals? So questioned the wise ones.

But at this there was a storm of protest. What would become of the little states, plaintively asked their delegates, if such a plan were adopted? What chance would Georgia, for instance, have in a Congress in which she would have but one representative, while Virginia would have sixteen?

But, came the reply, is it right to give the people of Georgia just as much power in the lawmaking body as is given to the people of Virginia, who are sixteen times as many?

It was difficult work, however, to persuade the delegates from the smaller states that any fate except utter destruction awaited these states in the proposed plan. Both sides were excited and angry, and the convention came near being entirely broken up. At last, however, each side yielded a little to the other, and a compromise was made. By it came the present arrangement of the lawmaking part of our government.

Congress, it was planned, should be made up of two houses. In one of these the members should represent the people of the country. That is, each state should be represented according to the number of people in it. In the other house the states, regardless of size, should have equal representation. It was a wise plan, and

**Compromise
between large
and small
states**

the delegates from the small states were willing to accept it. Indeed, we see no more antagonism between small states and large ones.

A new subject of controversy soon arose, however. This was the question of slavery, and the feeling concerning it which we see arising in the convention was destined to grow in the years to come until it should become a danger, threatening the very life of the nation. At this time, however, no one had any thought of such a state of affairs in the future. There were in 1787 some slaves in all the states except Massachusetts; but the number north of Maryland was small, and it was evident that slavery would sooner or later die out in all the Northern states. Neither the climate nor the industries of the people were suited to the use of slave labor. Indeed, it was believed by many people that slavery would disappear even in the South after a time. In 1787, however, the Southern states had many slaves, and when a question relating to slavery came up in the convention, the North and the South were naturally found on opposite sides of it, as they were always found as long as slavery endured.

The first of these questions came when it had been decided that people and not states should be represented in the lower house of Congress. The number of people in a state would determine the number of representatives to which the state was entitled. The question immediately arose, What of the slaves? Should they be counted in the number of people or not? The Southern delegates were prompt in their reply that certainly slaves were people. The delegates from the North were equally prompt in their response that slaves were only property. Immediately discussion began, and it was long and bitter. As in the contest between large states and small, the matter was finally settled by a compromise. It was agreed that in counting the population of any state for the assignment of representatives, every five slaves should be counted as three persons added to the population.

Compromise
between slave
and free
states

This, of course, was a partial triumph for the South, as it increased the number of their representatives; and it helped to make the South powerful in Congress for all the years that slavery lasted. But since without this compromise it is doubtful whether the Constitution would ever have been adopted, the action of the convention was doubtless wise.

Once more the slavery question came up, and once more a compromise was necessary to end the discussion. There were those in the convention as elsewhere who believed that slavery would sooner or later die out in all the states. There was a growing party in Virginia favoring its abolition, and also in Maryland. And everywhere except in South Carolina and Georgia most people believed that the slave trade should be stopped. These two states wished it continued because the exhausting work in rice and indigo fields used up negroes very rapidly, and the planters depended upon frequent additions to their workers. When it was proposed in the convention to put a stop to the importation of slaves, the delegates from Georgia and South Carolina were firm in their refusal to consider the Constitution at all if such a measure was introduced. It would not do to go on without them. There were too many doubtful states already. If these two should reject the Constitution, it was more than likely that it would never be adopted.

What would have been done is difficult to guess had it not been that another question equally hard to settle presented itself, and a sort of "bargain," as one delegate called it, was made. This was the question of allowing Congress to regulate commerce. The Southern delegates all opposed this strongly, and it was passed only when Georgia and South Carolina consented to vote for it on condition that the New England delegates should vote to prolong the slave trade for twenty years, which they accordingly did.

We can see now how disastrous this extension of the slave

trade became, because we can look back and see the wonderful inventions which came early in the new century to change the whole face of the slavery question. But in 1787 the page of the new century had not been turned, and it was generally hoped

Signing of the Constitution, September 17, 1787

From an early unfinished picture.

and believed that the life of slavery in America would be short, and its end peaceful.

These were the great struggles which made the lawmaking part of our government what it is. There were other but lesser discussions in regard to the executive department, and that of the courts or judiciary. Should there be one executive or more than one? This was a question which was much discussed, and in answer to which many strange plans were proposed. It was finally settled that there should be but one, that he should be

elected by a body of men expressly selected by the various states for that purpose, that he should hold office for four years, and should be known as the President of the United States of America.

In regard to the courts of the nation, the principal thing we need to notice is that to the highest or Supreme Court was intrusted the duty of explaining the Constitution and of deciding any doubtful points in regard to it that might arise.

To provide a home for this threefold government, it was decided that a territory not more than ten miles square should be given to the nation. Here forever should be the seat of the national government, here should be the center of the great machinery of the nation's life.

Thus the three departments of the government were planned, and the duties of each were outlined in the Constitution which was submitted to the states. The great work of the convention was done. It only remained to be seen what the states would do with that work.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The Federal Convention met in 1787.
2. It formed the Constitution by which we are now governed.
3. There were three great compromises necessary to satisfy the delegates from the various states.
 - a. The first of these was a question as to representation, — whether it should be equal for all states or in proportion to the number of people. It was settled by adopting the idea of equal representation in the upper house, while that of representation in proportion to population was decided upon for the lower house.
 - b. A second controversy — as to whether slaves should be counted in the population when assigning representatives — was settled by allowing five slaves to count as much as three free men.
 - c. A third compromise concerned the slave trade. It was to be permitted for the next twenty years after the formation of the Constitution, in return for which the Southern delegates withdrew their opposition to the control of commerce by Congress.

THINGS TO READ

1. "True Story of Franklin," Brooks, pp. 211-229.
2. "The Critical Period," Fiske, pp. 230-232, 226-228, 301-305.
3. "The War of Independence," Fiske, pp. 190-193.
4. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 327-334.
5. "George Washington," Hapgood, pp. 306-312.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *crisis, anarchy, restriction, compromise, controversy, partial, abolition, indigo, executive, judiciary*.
2. Prepare yourself to tell clearly what is meant by our "threefold government," and tell the function of each of its parts.
3. Place the picture of Madison, who is often called the "Father of the Constitution," in your portfolio; also that of Hamilton.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

Write about the Federal Convention.

1. When and where it met, and what it did.
2. General plan of the government it devised.
3. How the faults of the Articles of Confederation were overcome.

XXIV

IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE

THE Federal Convention broke up, and its members set out upon their homeward journeys. Eagerly the people awaited their coming that they might see the plan which the convention had worked out, and concerning which the members had as yet told nothing.

We must remember that there were at this time no railroads to carry the members spinning across the country to their homes; no telegraphs to flash the news of their work along the wires that very day to distant towns; no great newspapers printed by thousands of copies on whirring presses, to lay the text of the new Constitution next morning on the breakfast table of each family throughout the land.

Most of the members rode home on horseback, with the precious document it had taken all these months to form securely packed in their saddle-bags or buttoned tightly in the inside pockets of their coats. First of all, as an act of courtesy, the Constitution must be formally submitted to Congress and to the legislatures of the states. Then it must be submitted, as had been planned, to conventions of the people, called in each state to accept or reject the new government. If nine of the thirteen states should ratify it, the Constitution would become the law of the land, and the remaining four states might then accept it or remain out of the Union, as they chose.

We have learned enough of the American people to know that there would be plenty of discussion of the new plan, and that not only the members of state legislatures and conventions, lawyers and other learned men, would take part in it, but also that the

plain people everywhere would talk it over in tavern and workshop, on village greens and in the streets of the towns. We are not surprised to learn that the people naturally divided into two great parties, — the Federalists, who believed in the Constitution and were putting forth every effort to secure its adoption, and the anti-Federalists, who, as their name implies, took the opposite side and fought vigorously against its acceptance. There were Federalists and anti-Federalists in every state, but in some states one party seemed stronger, and in some the other, while in still others they seemed so evenly balanced that it was hard to foretell the outcome.

All through the winter and spring the discussion went on. Many and bitter were the objections raised by the anti-Federalists. What could be expected but tyranny from a government to which such unheard-of powers were given, they asked. What would prevent Congress from overtaxing the people? How could the people, already overburdened with taxes, support an elaborate Federal government? What need was there for a territory ten miles square as a seat for this government? Why would not one mile square be enough? What was the matter with the old Confederation anyway? And who were the men who had planned this scheme? Hamilton and Madison? Only boys! Franklin? In his second childhood! And as for Washington, — the mildest of the anti-Federalists said he might be a good general, but planning a government was not exactly in his line. Some of the violent ones went so far as to call him a “born fool.”

Meanwhile, one by one the conventions of the people met in the various states, and one by one the news of their action became known throughout the country. Little Delaware led the way, ratifying the Constitution on December 6, 1787. Pennsylvania and New Jersey followed in the same month, while Georgia and Connecticut decided for it in the first month of the new year. Five states! There was much rejoicing among the Federalists, but the anxious time was not yet passed. The

Massachusetts convention met on January 9, the very day that Connecticut's name had been added to the list. What would the people of Massachusetts do with the Constitution? The Massachusetts delegates to the convention had been doubtful from the first. Would the people of the "land of the town meeting" consent to give so much power to a far-away national government? Samuel Adams, the "Father of the Revolution," was known to be opposed to it, and his influence in Massachusetts was mighty. But Samuel Adams was a man great enough to learn and great enough to admit himself wrong; and when the vote was taken on the 6th of February, he was among those who voted for the Constitution, which was ratified by a vote of 187 to 168.

The Federalists rejoiced greatly over the result in Massachusetts, and when Maryland was added to the list in April, and South Carolina in May, but one state more was needed to make the nine. The Virginia convention met early in June. Once more the people awaited anxiously the news of its action, for Virginia, like Massachusetts, had been doubtful from the first, and like Massachusetts was too large and important to be left out of the Union. But, like Massachusetts again, the day was won for the Constitution by a narrow majority of 89 to 79.

Meanwhile New Hampshire had reached a decision a few days previous to the action in Virginia. Ten states were now agreed. On the Fourth of July, only a few days later, the Federalists throughout the country celebrated their victory by such rejoicings as America had never before seen. The people as a whole were wild with enthusiasm. The country was saved!

The three remaining states finally decided to come into the Union. In New York, where the anti-Federalists were especially strong, the ratification was largely due to the efforts of Hamilton, and took place soon after that of the other ten. North Carolina and Rhode Island were slower, remaining outside the Union until it was really established, and the first President had

been in office some time. But they came at last, and the "thirteen original colonies" were banded together into one nation.

The question, "What will the people do with the Constitution?" is answered. The new question becomes, "What will the Constitution do for the people?"

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. It was necessary for nine states to ratify the Constitution to make it the law of the land.
2. The people were soon divided into two parties — Federalists and anti-Federalists.
3. Of these the Federalists proved the stronger, and the Constitution was adopted.
4. Rhode Island and North Carolina remained out of the Union until after the new government was in operation. Then they decided to join their sister states.

THINGS TO READ

1. "The Critical Period," Fiske, pp. 324–331.
2. "Stories of the Old Bay State," Brooks, pp. 166–173.
3. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 334–340.
4. "The Growth of the American Nation," Judson, pp. 92–97.
5. "The Men Who Made the Nation," Sparks, pp. 181–198.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *document*, *legislatures*.
2. Imagine yourself a member of the Federal Convention. Write the speech which you might make in presenting the proposed Constitution to the people of your state for their consideration. Remember that as yet they know nothing of the plan.
3. Suppose that Rhode Island and North Carolina had never come into the Union. Would any disadvantages have come to them or to the other states from this action?

XXV

AFTERWORD

It is a glorious day in the springtime, — the last day of April, 1789. The noon sun throws its most brilliant rays upon the city of New York, the temporary seat of the new American government. It is a gala day in the city. Crowds in holiday attire

Federal Hall, New York, 1789
Where Washington was inaugurated.

throng the streets. A sound of military music bursts upon the air, and a company of soldiers comes into sight, escorting the man whom the crowds are assembled to honor. It is the nation's hero, Washington, — he who carried the nation safely through the perils of war; he who wisely counseled in the perils of these

later years of weakness; he who has been called by the people to lead them once more — to be the first to fill the chair which awaits the President of these United States.

He comes ! and the crowds surge forward to give him greeting. Hats wave, handkerchiefs flutter, all eyes are turned toward the

George Washington.

**From a photogravure of the Stuart portrait finished at Philadelphia in the spring of 1796.
Copyrighted, 1893, by A. W. Elson Co., Boston.**

balcony where he will presently appear. A hush falls over the great company as he steps forth, older, surely, — grayer, perhaps, — but with the same fine, calm face, the same commanding presence, the same even tones, as he promises that he will execute faithfully the office of the President of the United States, and defend the Constitution to the best of his ability.

There let us leave him, standing before the people he has served so faithfully and so well. There let us leave the nation in the presence of its hero, the “Father of his Country,” while the air rings with the shout, “Long live George Washington, President of the United States.”

OUTLINE

IV. The critical period of American history.

A. The Articles of Confederation.

1. By whom planned.
2. When and by whom adopted.
3. Faults.

B. Troubles of Congress and people. Commercial; financial.

C. The Federal Convention.

1. When and where it met, and what it did.
2. General plan of the government it devised.
3. How the faults of the Articles of Confederation were overcome.

D. The adoption of the Constitution.

PART III

THE NATION'S LIFE AND PROGRESS

PART III

THE NATION'S LIFE AND PROGRESS

I

FOREWORD

THE history of the United States, compared with the history of any country of Europe, is a very short story indeed. And yet there have been interesting and important happenings during the little more than a century since Washington became our first President.

There has been rapid and wonderful growth — in the size of our country; in the number of its people; in the number of comforts which make life easier and more delightful; in the development of our industries; and in the position of our nation in the world.

There have been many changes not only in ways of life, but in methods of business, and in the conduct of the industries by which people live. There has been a great war — a long struggle over slavery — in which the Union itself was threatened; but the Union still stands and there are now no slaves within it.

There have been other wars — with England, with Mexico, with Spain. Great political ideas — the Monroe Doctrine, the protective tariff, free trade, currency questions, government control or ownership of railroads, and the country's resources — have agitated the country, and some of them agitate it still.

Great men — leaders, orators, soldiers, statesmen — have come and gone, leaving their impress on the page before us. At first the story has much of the glamour of Revolutionary times. But

as we come down through the years to our own day the people begin to seem more like ourselves, and much of the romance dies out. We shall hear oftener of politics than of patriotism, and we need sometimes to remind ourselves that the two may go together.

We shall find much to interest us, even in these prosaic times, if we but search for it. And we must remember that we, the children of to-day, are to be the men and women of to-morrow; now we read of the deeds of our fathers — then we shall be making history for the children of future generations to read.

DIVISIONS OF OUR NATIONAL HISTORY

- I. Period of Organization (Federalist Supremacy) 1789–1801
(Presidents: Washington, 1789–1797; Adams, 1797–1801.)
- II. The Jeffersonian Republicans 1801–1809
(President: Jefferson; 1801–1809.)
- III. The Struggle for Commercial Independence
(The War of 1812) 1809–1817
(President: Madison; 1809–1817.)
- IV. New Political Ideas and Parties 1817–1829
(Presidents: Monroe, 1817–1825; J. Q. Adams, 1825–1829.)
- V. The Democracy led by Jackson 1829–1841
(Presidents: Jackson, 1829–1837; Van Buren, 1837–1841.)
- VI. Slavery threatens the Union. The Sections
grow apart 1841–1860
(Presidents: Harrison and Tyler, 1841–1845; Polk, 1845–1849; Taylor and Fillmore, 1850–1853; Pierce, 1853–1857; Buchanan, 1857–1861.)
- VII. Secession and Civil War 1860–1865
(President: Lincoln.)
- VIII. Reconstruction 1865–1873
(Presidents: Johnson, 1865–1869; Grant, 1869–1873.)
- IX. The New Union 1873–
(Presidents: Grant, 1873–1877; Hayes, 1877–1881; Garfield and Arthur, 1881–1885; Cleveland, 1885–1889; Harrison, 1889–1893; Cleveland, 1893–1897; McKinley, 1897–1901; Roosevelt, 1901–1909; Taft, 1909–.)

PERIOD OF ORGANIZATION

II

ORGANIZING THE GOVERNMENT

THE 4th of March, 1789, had been set as the date when the wheels of the new government should be set in motion, but the members of Congress were slow in reaching New York, and it was the 30th of April before they were ready to inaugurate the President and really begin their work.

Many and serious problems confronted the nation. The Confederation had proved a dismal failure, and the country was reaping the harvest of years of weakness and disorder. There was little confidence in the government at home or abroad. Commerce was at a standstill, and all business had been nearly ruined by the war. The people were restless and dissatisfied. The new government was felt by all to be an experiment, and many boldly predicted its failure. Fortunately the name of Washington carried confidence with it; with another man at the head of the undertaking it is difficult to say just what would have happened.

The Congress went to work at once. It established the Supreme Court according to the requirements of the Constitution, and organized the inferior courts. It created three Acts of executive departments (of war, of state, and of the Congress treasury), and the office of attorney-general. It reorganized the post-office already in existence. It confirmed the acts of the Confederation in regard to the Northwest Territory. It proposed twelve amendments to the Constitution, of which ten

were adopted by the states. And more important, perhaps, than any of these things, it took decisive steps to place the finances of the government on a secure footing.

The question of obtaining funds for paying government expenses was a serious one. Congress took up this question at once, passing a tariff law. Is tariff a new word to you? We shall meet it often in coming chapters. A tariff is a tax or duty on goods brought into or sent out of a country. Duties on exports have never been laid in the United States. Duties on imports are paid to the government by those who import the goods.

In addition to the tariff, the first Congress passed other laws relating to money matters. Alexander Hamilton had been appointed Secretary of the Treasury. He was without doubt the foremost financier of his day, and the measures that he proposed were wise, though some of the men of his time felt that they were not necessary or that Congress had no right to pass them.

First he considered the debt of the nation. This amounted to fifty-four millions of dollars, which had been borrowed by the government in the days of the Revolution and the Confederation; Hamilton recommended most earnestly that Congress agree to pay this debt in full. Many objections were raised, but it was finally voted. There was even more vigorous objection to Hamilton's proposal that the national government pay the state debts, but this also was finally agreed to.

Other plans made by Hamilton were for the establishment of a national bank, and for an excise law taxing alcoholic liquors. These, too, were bitterly opposed. The question of the bank especially caused prolonged discussion in Congress. Hamilton's idea was to give the right to establish a bank — that is, a charter — to a company formed for the purpose by private individuals. Certain safeguards to be required by Congress would make the bank a solid financial institution;

and it would be used by the government as a place of deposit for government funds.

Had Congress any right to give a charter to a private business enterprise? This question was fiercely debated. No, said Madison and Jefferson and many others, the Constitution gives no such right. Yes, said Hamilton and his followers, Congress is given by the Constitution the right to make any laws necessary to carry out the powers granted it. The bank bill was passed, and the "United States Bank" was chartered.

First appearance of the doctrine of "implied powers"

Around these policies of Hamilton two parties began rapidly to form. The Federalists, who had favored the Constitution and a strong central government, naturally followed Hamilton, with his doctrine of "implied powers" for the national government, and "broad" or "loose construction" for the Constitution. But those who feared a strong national government — and they were many — quite as naturally formed a strong opposing party, calling themselves Republicans. They believed in a "strict construction" of the Constitution, and in only those powers for the national government which were stated and not implied.

Formation of political parties

The fear of a return to monarchy still agitated the country, and every act of Washington or of the Federalist majority in Congress was looked upon by many as a step toward making Washington king. The Federalists were feared as "aristocrats." The new Republican party gained many adherents, whose belief in the declaration that "all men are created free and equal" was literal and intense. The voice of the party was Thomas Jefferson, its ardent leader, and the party moved rapidly toward power.

The Republicans

And now the cry "Liberty, equality, fraternity" came across the Atlantic from a new France — for the friend and ally of America in the Revolution was now herself involved in a tremendous and dreadful struggle for liberty.

The French Revolution

For centuries the French people had been crushed under the heavy hand of their rulers. Now at last the crushing hand had been thrown off. The king was cast into prison, condemned, executed. Many of the nobles met a like fate, and at last the revolutionists, frenzied by their taste of power, turned even upon one another. France entered upon a "carnival of blood." Neighboring monarchs took alarm, and soon the new French republic found itself at war with almost all Europe.

The Republicans in America watched the struggle with eager sympathy, and when a French envoy, "Citizen Genêt," arrived in America to ask aid from the government, he was greeted with great enthusiasm by the people. He began at once to enlist men and to send out privateers, so sure was he that the aid he asked would be given. It must, therefore, have been a great surprise to him when he was refused assistance, and Washington issued his "proclamation of neutrality," to warn Americans that they must help neither side in the war. Genêt was indignant, his Republican friends in America were indignant, and both he and they were loud in their fault-finding with Washington and his Federalist advisers. So far did they go in their sneers and insults directed at the government that it became necessary to ask the French government to recall Genêt. In spite of these bitter attacks, Washington enforced the neutrality he had ordered, and the Republicans were obliged to give up all idea of helping the French.

It was perhaps somewhat to be expected that the relations of the new nation with England would be troublesome, and so indeed they were from the beginning. During England's war with the French republic the British trespassed upon American rights even more than before. No American merchant ship was safe anywhere at sea, or in any French or British West India port. The British not only seized provisions bound for France or the French West Indies, but they seized and often destroyed the vessels

Commercial
grievances
against
England

which carried them. No American sailor could be sure that he would not be dragged from the deck of his ship and forced on board a British man-of-war as a supposed deserter from the British navy — for these things happened again and again. In her every action England showed her contempt for the United States.

The violence of Republican sympathy for France was equaled only by the violence of the same party's hatred for England. We can therefore

Showing Territory settled in 1790

understand the vigor with which they urged retaliation for British insults. The possibility of any adjustment of the trouble without war, or at least without shutting out all English goods from American markets, they refused to consider. The Federalists were anxious to avoid war, but the tide of public opinion was decidedly against them. Washington became alarmed at the situation, and made an attempt to settle the difficulties by sending a special envoy to England to make a treaty. John Jay was appointed to undertake this difficult task.

Jay succeeded in making a treaty which was approved by the President and ratified by the Senate. A great storm of protest broke out, however, from all parts of the coun- *Jay's Treaty,* try. What rights did the treaty secure for America? 1794.

the Republicans asked. Had England agreed to stop her impressment of seamen? or to pay for holding the forts on the American frontier for twelve years? In fact, did the treaty settle any of the grievances America had against England?

Jay was openly accused of having been bribed by British gold. And yet the treaty he had made was without doubt the best that could have been obtained from England at that time, and it was far better than no treaty, and far better than war. The

treaty was supported by the Federalists, and was ably defended by Hamilton and other party leaders. After the first excitement had passed, opposition to it largely disappeared, and commercial conditions began slowly to improve.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. Government under the Constitution began in 1789.
2. Important acts of Congress were
 - (1) Passage of a tariff law. (2) Agreement to pay national and state debts in full. (3) Passage of a law taxing distilled liquors. (4) Charter of the United States Bank. Alexander Hamilton planned these financial measures.
3. Hamilton's supporters, the Federalists, believed in a "loose construction" of the Constitution and in "implied powers," — that is, that the government might do many things not directly mentioned in the Constitution.
4. Hamilton's opponents, calling themselves Republicans, believed in "strict construction" and in "states' rights." The Republican leaders were Jefferson and Madison.
5. The Republicans were the champions of the common people. They sympathized deeply with the French revolutionists. Much opposition was aroused among them by Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality.
6. Commercial relations with England threatened war. Jay's treaty, made in 1794, averted it, but the treaty was strongly opposed by the Republicans, who hated England and believed the treaty favored that country more than the United States.
7. "To the Republicans we owe much; but in every town from Eastport to the St. Mary's River they were then the party of violence, of disorder, of mob rule." — JOHN BACH McMASTER.

THINGS TO READ

1. Hamilton, in "Four American Patriots," Burton, pp. 71-130.
2. George Washington, the First President, pp. 181-217 in "The Men who made the Nation." — SPARKS.
3. "History of the People of the United States," McMaster, Vol. II pp. 91-95.

THINGS TO DO

1. Make a brief study of the United States government as established by the Constitution: —

(1) Who are the lawmakers? How are representatives chosen? How are senators chosen? Who presides at the meetings of the House of Representatives? Who presides in the Senate? How does the number of the senators compare with the number of representatives? How does the number of members of Congress now compare with the number in 1789?

(2) The President is the head of the executive branch of the government. Who are his chief helpers in this department? Was there a "cabinet" in Washington's time? How many executive heads were there? What were their departments?

(3) What is a court of justice? What part does the judge have in its proceedings? What kinds of troubles may be taken to court for settlement? What courts are under the control of the Federal government?

2. Find the exact meaning of *inaugurate, funds, tariff, imports, exports, financier, excise, charter, financial, deposit, policies, doctrine, implied, construction, aristocrats, adherents, privateers, proclamation, neutrality, retaliation, impressment*.

3. Discuss in class the following questions: —

(1) Why should the national government assume the state debts?

(2) What ground had France for asking aid from America? What ground had Washington for refusing it?

4. From what public document is the quotation "all men are created free and equal" taken? Who is the author of the paper?

5. Contrast the American and the French Revolution. What part did Lafayette take in the latter?

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

(Portrait)

"He smote the rock of the national resources, and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth." — WEBSTER.

"The Constitution was the work of many men. Our financial system was the work of one, who worked alone."

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He recommended:—

1. That the United States assume in full the debts of the Confederation.
2. That the United States assume the debts of the separate states.
3. That the government lay an excise tax on distilled liquors.
4. That the government establish a national bank. Congress passed all these measures.

(A brief sketch of Hamilton's life, or of some part of his life which specially interests you.)

JOHN JAY

His public services (consult encyclopedia).

"It [the treaty] was not fair nor equitable; England did not give us anything like fair commercial privileges; nor did she promise to give up impressment; but she did give up the frontier posts, and agreed to pay for the provision she had seized." — McLAUGHLIN.

III

FURTHER DIFFICULTIES CONFRONTING THE NATION

IN addition to the perplexing problems connected with English and French affairs, the Indians of Ohio and the people of western Pennsylvania also gave the government trouble. The Whisky Whisky making was largely carried on in western Rebellion, Pennsylvania, and the Whisky Rebellion, as it is ¹⁷⁹⁴ known, arose from the resistance to the excise law. The officials sent to collect the tax were misused, and there were riots, and at length an organized insurrection. Washington was obliged to send soldiers to settle the difficulty.

In the same year that this was done, the Indians of Ohio, who had been troubling the settlers in the West, and who had defeated two armies sent against them, were brought ^{Indian} to terms by General Anthony Wayne. A treaty was ^{troubles in} made with the chiefs in 1795. These are both ^{Ohio ended,} minor difficulties, and we consider them chiefly be- ¹⁷⁹⁵ cause they help to show the troubled conditions in the United States in that year — 1794. With the “Whisky Boys” of Pennsylvania in revolt; with the Ohio Indians threat- ^{Conditions} ening the frontier; with England searching ships, ^{in 1794} condemning cargoes, impressing seamen, — in a word, destroying American commerce; with the Republicans violently hostile to whatever the President and his advisers did, — it was indeed an unhappy year. We know that Washington was often weary and heartsick. “I would rather be on my farm than to be emperor of the world,” he said at one time, “and yet they say I wish to be a king.”

In 1797 Washington's second term ended. Most of the difficulties we have read about had been safely overcome, and yet it was a divided people — Republicans bitter against Federalists,



Federalists equally bitter against Republicans — over whom John Adams came to be President. Washington had refused to be a candidate for a third term, and had in his "Farewell Address" taken his leave of public life. John Adams continued to uphold Federalist principles, and again, as in Washington's time, the foreign relations of the country were the principal matters in dispute. Jay's treaty, in addition to the

protests it aroused in America, seemed likely to involve us in trouble with France. The government of that country seemed much disturbed at America's entering into such an agreement without her knowledge and approval. American merchant-men were plundered by French men-of-war; American ministers were insulted by the French government. A commission of three men was appointed by Adams to attempt some settlement with the French ministers, but they were refused official recognition, and were secretly told by emissaries known in the negotiations only as X, Y, and Z, that America must pay money to the French government if she would have her ministers received. This humiliating demand roused Americans everywhere to anger. Even Republicans recognized this as an insult. Preparations were made for war. Washington was called again from his quiet home to take command of the army. The navy was increased, and war upon the ocean was actually begun. But the French, seeming now to realize that America was in earnest in her resentment, expressed their willingness to make peace, and the United States agreed. Thus the 'X. Y. Z. affair,' as it was known, came to an end.

Mount Vernon
Washington's home.

Taking advantage of the feeling against France now aroused, the Federalist party proceeded to pass three acts, aimed at foreigners, and at the Republicans, who had carried their criticism of Washington and Adams beyond all bounds. The acts were as follows:—

1. The Naturalization Act increased the time required before a foreigner could become a citizen, from five to fourteen years.

2. The Alien Act gave the President the right to send dangerous foreigners out of the country.

The Alien and Sedition laws 3. The Sedition Act made it a crime to print or publish "any false, scandalous, or malicious writings" against the government, Congress, or the President.

The Alien and Sedition laws were called unconstitutional, unjust, and tyrannical, by the Republicans, and there is scarcely

The Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, 1798 room to doubt that they were all these. The legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky passed resolutions concerning them.

In the Kentucky resolutions it was declared that "nullification" by the states was the proper remedy. Nullifying means making of no effect. That a single state should consider refusing to be bound by laws passed by the general government shows us how lightly the bond of union was held in such

John Marshall

a state. The state first, — the Union in the second place, — this was the common sentiment among Republicans, especially in the Southern states. The dangers of extreme state rights doctrines were much lessened by the influence of John Marshall, made Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in 1801. For thirty-five years he ably supported the general government in his decisions, preventing encroachment of the states upon it. It is said of him, "He found the Constitution paper, and made it power; he found it a skeleton, and clothed it with flesh and blood."

The passage of the Alien and Sedition laws proved a serious blow to the power of the Federalist party. So great was the

disapproval of the people, in fact, that the election of 1800 brought the Republicans into power, — power which the Federalists were never to enjoy again.

Of the people during these first years of the republic much of interest might be told. It

Republican
success in the
election of
1800

will be easier to understand the political movements of the time if we can picture to ourselves the life of the time, — a slowly moving current compared with life to-day, and yet full, as life always is, of color and movement. Imagine, if you can, a United States containing no more people than New York City contains to-day. Imagine a United States without a railroad, without a steamboat, without a telegraph or a telephone. Journeys by stage-coach or on horseback were slow affairs, and yet, knowing nothing swifter, the people were content. They were not

only content — they were inclined to be self-satisfied, knowing little of their neighbors in other towns and other states. News also traveled slowly, and opinions were slowly formed and slowly changed. Farming was the chief occupation of the time.

Life in
early years of
the century

A Cotton Gln

In the South a new crop had been introduced — cotton, a plant native to India. It was at first not a very profitable crop, however, since it required so much labor to remove the seeds from the fiber. It took one person about a day to clean a single pound.

In 1793, however, all this was changed by Eli Whitney's invention, the cotton gin. By the use of a single machine a hundred pounds of cotton could be cleaned in a day, and cotton raising at once began to be profitable. Within seven years after Whitney's invention of the cotton gin, the production of cotton in the Southern states increased from less than two hundred thousand pounds a year to more than seventeen million pounds. This meant prosperity for the South, and it also meant great increase in the number of slaves on Southern plantations. What this meant to the nation, we must read the story of the Civil War to know.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The Whisky Rebellion, an uprising in Pennsylvania to resist the excise law, tested the strength of the new government.
2. Troubles on the Western frontier with the Indians were brought to an end by General Wayne's successful campaign.
3. Trouble with France, in Adams's administration, made war seem likely. It was, however, avoided.
4. The acts known as the "Alien and Sedition laws," passed by the Federalists in Congress, aroused great opposition. So unpopular were these measures that the Federalists lost the election of 1800, and Thomas Jefferson became President.
5. The cotton gin, invented by Eli Whitney in 1793, had important effects on cotton raising and slaveholding.

THINGS TO READ

1. The Whisky Rebellion: —
"History of the People of the United States," McMaster, Vol. II, pp. 189-203.
2. Threatened war with France, "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 363-367.
3. Fall of the Federal Party, "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 367-374.
4. Life on the frontier: —
"American Pioneers," Mowry. pp. 103-126, 138-149

- "Days and Deeds a Hundred Years Ago," Stone and Fickett, pp. 16-35.
- "Conquest of the Old Northwest," Baldwin, pp. 187-207.
- "Stories of Pioneer Life," Bass.
- "The Making of the Ohio Valley States," Drake, pp. 153-189. Compare with "A Century of Dishonor," Jackson, pp. 37-46.
5. The early post-office: —
McMaster, Vol. II, pp. 58-64.
6. The cotton gin: —
"American Inventions and Inventors," Mowry, pp. 143-157.
"Four American Inventors," Perry, pp. 73-130.
"Days and Deeds a Hundred Years Ago," Stone and Fickett, pp. 53-67.
7. Last days of Washington, "George Washington," Hapgood, pp. 398-412.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the exact meaning of *organized insurrection, frontier, condemning cargoes, hostile, emperor, plundered, commission, official recognition, alien, sedition, naturalization, scandalous, malicious, resolutions, nullification.*
2. Study the following from the "Kentucky Resolutions" of 1799: —
"That the several states who formed that instrument [the Constitution], being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of the infraction; and that a nullification by these sovereignties of all unauthorized acts done under color of that instrument, is the rightful remedy; that this Commonwealth does, under the most deliberate reconsideration, declare, that the said Alien and Sedition laws are, in their opinion, palpable violations of the said Constitution."
3. Form an opinion in regard to —
 1. The states "being sovereign and independent."
 2. "Nullification — the rightful remedy."
 3. "Said Alien and Sedition laws — palpable violations of the Constitution."
4. Questions for brief oral or written answers: —
 - (1) What do you think the result would be if nullification were practiced by the states?
 - (2) In what way was the Whisky Rebellion a test of the strength of the new government?
 - (3) What political result followed the passage of the Alien and Sedition laws?
 - (4) Why was the invention of the cotton gin important?

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Washington. (Portrait)

"First in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen."

His public services. (From the French war to the end of his life.)

Use the index to your text-book, or to any other United States history

(Picture of Mount Vernon)

2. Write on the following subject: Life on the Western Frontier.

How people reached the Western country; why they went there; what their homes were like; the Indians; how homes in Ohio were made safe.

3. Make a map showing the westward spread of population. Mark the seat of the Indian troubles.

4. John Marshall. [Copy the quotation concerning him.]

OUTLINE

I. Period of Organization (Federalist Supremacy), 1789-1801.

(Presidents: Washington, two terms; Adams, one term.)

A. Getting the government into working order.

1. Establishment of courts; 2. creation of executive departments.

3. Financial legislation (recommended by Hamilton). Tariff; excise tax; assumption of debts of Confederation and state debts; establishment of the United States Bank.

B. Foreign affairs.

1. Commercial difficulties with England; Jay's treaty (1794).

2. Trouble with France.

a. France asks help against England; "Citizen" Genêt; Proclamation of Neutrality (1793).

b. France angered by Jay's treaty with England; war threatened (1797-1800).

C. Domestic troubles.

1. Fighting with Ohio Indians.

2. Whisky Rebellion.

D. Political affairs.

1. Washington's farewell. Election of 1796.

2. The Alien and Sedition laws; the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions; the election of 1800.

E. The country and the people.

Population; large cities; occupations; cotton in the South; the cotton gin; pioneer homes in the West; difficulty and rarity of travel; lack of sympathy of people of different states.

THE JEFFERSONIAN REPUBLICANS

IV

"REPUBLICAN SIMPLICITY, ECONOMY, AND REFORM"

ON March 4, 1801, the Republican, or Democratic-Republican, party, as it was coming to be known, came into power with the inauguration of Thomas Jefferson as President.

We must remember, however, that although Jefferson was a Republican, and although an increasing number of Republican members was to be found in Congress, there were still many Federalists in office, so that the Republicans were not, for a time at least, quite free to do as they pleased. It is said, indeed, that Adams had spent the last day of his term in appointing his Federalist friends to positions under the government. Then he hastily left the city, that he might not see his rival, Jefferson, inaugurated.

Jefferson was the first President to begin his term in the new city of Washington, which had been planned and begun as the permanent capital of the nation. The ceremony of Jefferson's inauguration was quiet and simple, as befitted the inauguration Republican simplicity Jefferson advocated. Any such celebration as had attended the inauguration of Washington or of Adams would indeed have been quite impossible in the new city, which was really a city only in name, for the Capitol and the president's house were unfinished, other buildings had been roughly and hastily built, and the whole town was literally "in the woods."

It is important that we consider what the Republican party was to stand for, now that it was no longer merely "the opposition." Simplicity, economy, individual rights, — these were all

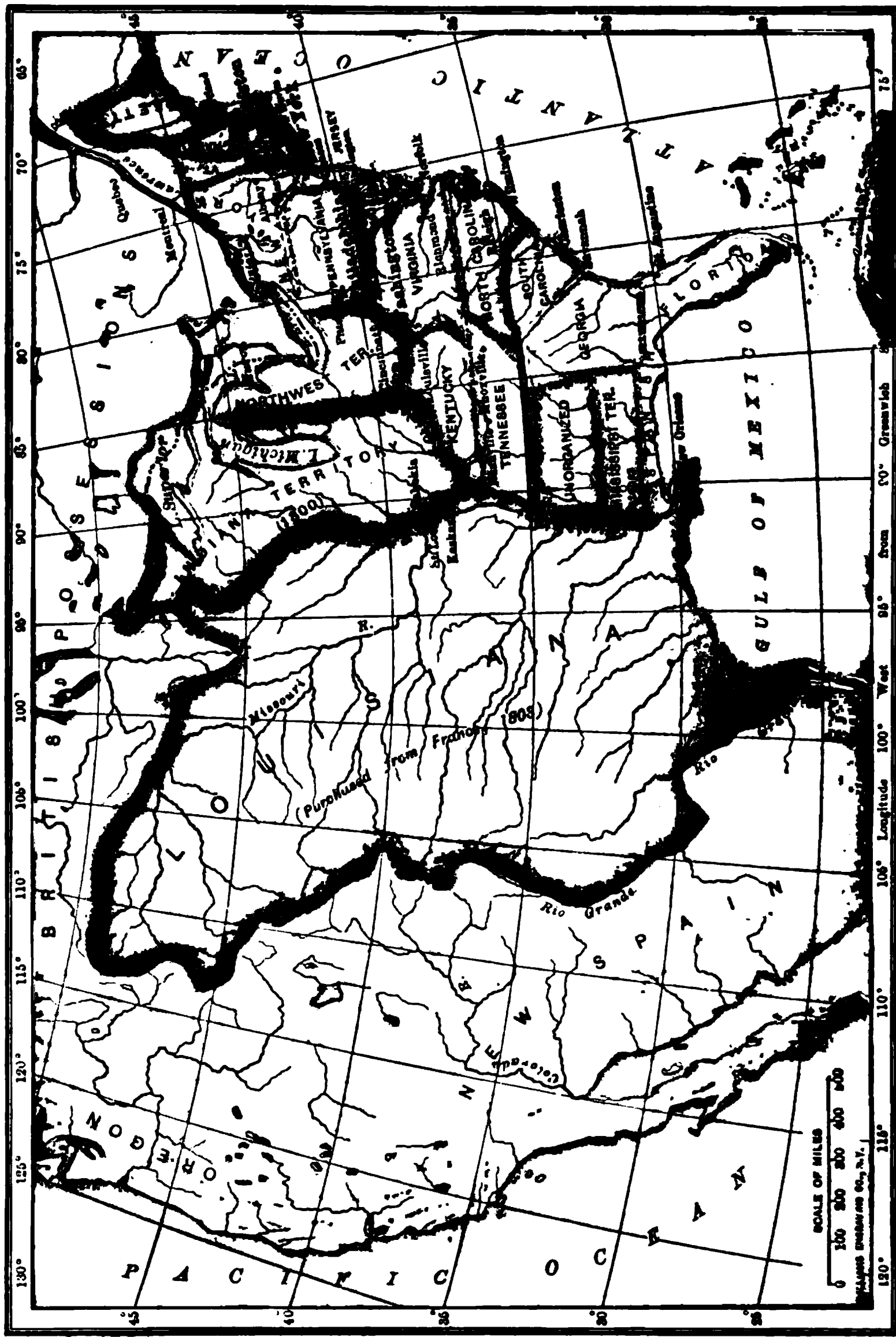
party watchwords. Jefferson was hailed as "the man of the people." The party was the avowed enemy of "loose construction," of "implied powers," of heavy taxes, of recognition in any way of an "aristocracy." The people's will, in its broadest sense, was to be the law.

During the administration of Adams the national debt had reached eighty-three million dollars. During the eight years of Government Jefferson's holding office it was reduced to forty-five millions. This is abundant evidence that the Republican promise of economy in government was carried out. The navy and the army were reduced certain civil

offices were abolished, and the number of ministers in foreign lands cut down to the lowest possible limit. Albert Gallatin, appointed Secretary of the Treasury by Jefferson, was a very able man, in his knowledge of financial matters probably second only to Hamilton himself.

Monticello
Jefferson's home.

It is interesting to note that the greatest act of Jefferson while President, the purchase of Louisiana, was a direct departure from his theory of "strict construction." Nowhere does the Constitution give the government power to acquire territory. It became evident, however, to Jefferson, as to many others, that peace, security, and commercial development in the West could come only through the acquisition of New Orleans. The circumstances were these: The western boundary of the United States as fixed by the treaty which closed the Revolution was the Mississippi, as far south as the thirty-first parallel. South of that parallel Spanish territory extended on both sides of the river, including the island upon which the town of New Orleans was built. At first this



The United States in 1803

was of little importance to the United States. But the new West was springing into being, — Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana. By 1800 nearly four hundred thousand people had made their homes in the Western wilderness, and were looking for a market for their produce.

The Allegheny wall was for purposes of trade practically impassable. The only way to a market was by the Ohio and the Mississippi, — and the control of the Mississippi lay with Spain. By treaty, however, in 1795 Americans were given trading privileges—the "right of deposit" of their goods at New Orleans to await trading vessels. Until 1802 this right was continued; in that year it was suddenly withdrawn.

Flatboat

These boats were extensively used on the Mississippi, to float cargoes down the stream.

Western trade was immediately crippled, and the call for an open Mississippi was loud and urgent. Rumors that Spain was about to cede Louisiana again to France added to the fears of both settlers and the government at Washington.

"There is on the globe," wrote Jefferson in a letter at this time, "one single spot the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three eighths of our territory must pass to market. This territory," he adds, "from its fertility will ere long yield more than half of our whole produce, and certainly more than half of our inhabitants."

It was clear that the control of New Orleans by France (for

the rumor concerning it was found to be fact) was a danger to the growth and development of the West, — far more of a danger than its being held by a weakened nation like Spain could ever be. The Western settlers were even talking of war. But Jefferson was a man who loved peace, and he determined to make an attempt to buy New Orleans from France. James Monroe was sent as a special ambassador to France to aid the American minister there, Robert Livingston, in an attempt to arrange a purchase. To the astonishment of the ministers, Napoleon, who was then ruler of France, offered to sell the whole of Louisiana to the United States. Monroe and Livingston scarcely knew what to reply. No time was given them to send to Washington for orders, so they were obliged to decide on their own responsibility. When they reported having concluded a bargain for the vast territory between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains for fifteen million dollars, there was great surprise in America and of course some disapproval. But it was a wise purchase, as time has fully shown.

We must not forget that, except along the Mississippi River, the territory thus acquired by the United States was an unexplored wilderness, inhabited only by Indians. Men interested in geographical questions, of whom President Jefferson was one, had long desired to explore this country. In fact, before there had been any idea of its becoming part of the United States, Jefferson had been given authority by Congress to send out an exploring party. The command of this expedition was given to Captain Meriwether Lewis, and to assist him Captain William Clark, brother of George Rogers Clark of Revolutionary fame, was appointed. With thirty men, Lewis and Clark started from St. Louis in May, 1804. The story of their journey up the Missouri, through the Rocky Mountains, and down the Columbia River, to the Pacific, is full of interest even for boys and girls, and well repays reading. They were gone more than two years, and they brought

The Lewis and
Clark Expedi-
tion, 1804-
1806

back careful reports concerning the rivers and the mountains, the soil, plants, and animals, as well as the Indians, many of whom they had met in their eight-thousand-mile journey. When

Explorations of Lewis and Clark, 1804-1806

we remember that this exploring party did its work little more than a hundred years ago, it is interesting to compare the Louisiana country of that day with the same territory to-day. Thus we may see how rapidly the United States found a use for such a vast increase as the purchase seemed when it was made.

Only a short time after the great gain in territory of which we have been reading, the United States took another stride forward, through the invention of the steamboat. The use of steam power for producing motion was not a new idea by any means. It had been tried with more or less success many years before this time, and in 1774 James Watt had succeeded, after many experiments, in making a steam engine producing sufficient power to be of practical value. The idea of using steam power to propel boats

Fulton's
success in
steam navi-
gation, 1807

Robert Fulton

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soon followed, and as the century drew near its close we hear of several men who succeeded in at least a partial solution of the problem.

A steamboat made by James Rumsey succeeded in reaching a speed of four miles an hour. Another, designed by John Fitch,

was actually in use for a time to carry passengers on the Delaware. But neither of these men was able to follow up his success, and it remained for Robert Fulton to make the steamboat of real and practical benefit to the world. In 1807 his boat,

The *Clermont* on the Hudson

The length of the steamboat was 130 feet. Notice the paddle wheels. The engine was uncovered, all the machinery being in full view.

the *Clermont*, made its trial trip up the Hudson from New York to Albany, reaching a speed of nearly five miles an hour. At first people were astonished at the noisy boat, and even afraid as they saw smoke and sparks rising from the smokestack, but soon the *Clermont* was making regular trips, and ere many years steamboats had begun to do their part in helping the West to its rapid growth and to the development of its wonderful resources.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The Republican party, now in power for the first time, was the champion of the common people. It opposed a strong central government, and would hold the President and Congress to a strict construction of the Constitution.

2. The expense of carrying on the government was greatly reduced during Jefferson's administration. The army and the navy were made smaller.

3. The territory of Louisiana was purchased from France by the United States in 1803. This purchase more than doubled the area of the United States. It also insured free navigation of the Mississippi.

4. An important exploring expedition under Lewis and Clark traveled up the Missouri and down the Columbia to the Pacific.

5. A successful use of steam power to propel boats was made by Robert Fulton in 1807. Steamboats soon helped to develop the new West, and made navigation everywhere swifter and surer.

THINGS TO READ

1. The Louisiana Purchase: —

“The Louisiana Purchase,” Hitchcock.

“The Making of the Great West,” Drake, pp. 171-211.

“The Story of Lewis and Clark,” Kingsley. (This also appears as part of the volume, “Four American Explorers.”)

“American Hero Stories,” Tappan, pp. 207-217.

“Side Lights on American History,” Elson, pp. 96-115.

2. Thomas Jefferson: —

“History of the United States,” Elson, pp. 376-388.

“Stories of the Old Dominion,” Cooke, pp. 180-192.

“American Pioneers,” Mowry, pp. 217-229.

“History of the United States” (1801-1817), Adams, Vol. I, pp. 185-188.

3. The Alien and Sedition laws: —

“Side Lights on American History,” Elson, pp. 65-79.

4. The invention of the steamboat: —

“Days and Deeds a Hundred Years Ago,” Stone and Fickett, pp. 78-93.

“Four American Inventors,” Perry, pp. 11-69.

“American Inventions and Inventors,” Mowry, pp. 194-214.

“Side Lights on American History,” Elson, pp. 80-95.

5. “How our Grandfathers Lived,” Hart, pp. 99-102, 106-113.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the exact meaning of *simplicity*, *economy*, *individual*, *aristocracy*, *abolished*, *acquire*, *habitual*, *fertility*, *ambassador*, *propelling*.

2. Compare the *Clermont* with the steamboats of to-day. Find pictures of modern steamers. Find out, if you can, what the early steamboats used for fuel. What do the modern boats use? How would the fuel used affect the usefulness of the boat?

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3. Discuss in class with your teacher: —

(1) In what way was the purchase of Louisiana a departure from the principles of the Republican party?

(2) If you had lived in Jefferson's time, would you have been Federalist or Republican? Defend your position.

(3) Napoleon's statement when the purchase was completed, "I have given England a rival that will humble her pride."

4. Review the eighteenth century in America. Make (1) a list of important dates; (2) a list of ten great events; (3) a list of important men.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. A study of political parties.

REPUBLICAN		FEDERALIST
	Beginning	
	Principles	
	Leaders	
	In power	

2. Make a map to show the Louisiana Purchase. Show on it the route of Lewis and Clark.

3. The Mississippi Valley.

First discovered by — in the year —.

Explored by the Frenchmen — and — in the year —.

Settlement at the mouth of the river attempted by — in the year —.

Named by the French — in honor of —.

Held by France until the year —, when, at the close of the — War, she gave it up, the portion east of the — River (excepting New Orleans) to —, and the portion west of the river, together with New Orleans, to —.

Important to the United States because the — provided a way to market for produce from settlements west of the — Mountains. The mouth of the river was controlled by —.

Louisiana held by — until the year —, when it was ceded to —. In the year — it was purchased from — by —.

4. Thomas Jefferson.**(Portrait)****"The Sage of Monticello."**

"He was bitterly opposed to anything that might fasten upon this young land the burdens under which the people of England suffered. America was for man; and if man were to make the most of himself, he must not be oppressed by a smothering crust of nobility, by heavy taxes that consumed his substance, by big armies and navies, by a huge and expensive government." — McLAUGHLIN.

(Picture of Jefferson's home, Monticello)**OUTLINE****II Republicans assume Power ("Simplicity, Economy, and Reform"), 1801-1809.****(President: Thomas Jefferson.)****A. Policy of the new administration.**

- 1. Jefferson's principles; his previous public service; his influence: formality of Washington's time contrasted with the simplicity of Jefferson's life as President.**
- 2. Reduction of government expenses, — army, navy, and foreign representatives decreased.**

B. The Louisiana Purchase (1803).

- 1. Why considered necessary; the development of the Mississippi Valley; the importance of an open Mississippi; change of ownership of Louisiana caused alarm to Western settlers.**
- 2. Negotiations with France — extent of territory and terms of purchase.**
- 3. Lewis and Clark Expedition (1804-1806).**
- 4. Importance of the purchase.**
- 5. The Republican principle of "strict construction" departed from.**

C. Robert Fulton's success in steam navigation (1807).**D. Foreign relations.**

- 1. The war with Tripoli.**
- 2. Commercial complications with England and France (treated under next topic).**

THE STRUGGLE FOR COMMERCIAL INDEPENDENCE

V

COMMERCIAL DIFFICULTIES BRING WAR

EVEN before Jefferson's administration came to an end, commercial troubles, which had never really ceased, came once more to threaten the prosperity and peace of the United States.

Jay had been unable, when he made his treaty with England, to obtain any promise that impressment of seamen should stop.

British im- And it did not stop. It was true that many British
pressment of sailors did desert their ships in American ports, since
American better treatment and better pay were to be had on
seamen American ships; and the British now allowed scarcely
an American vessel to leave port without boarding her and
searching for deserters. Some one says that they always took the
best-looking sailors, regardless of nationality; and it is true that
thousands of Americans were thus pressed into the British service.

England and France were again at war with each other, another thing which made trouble for American merchant-ships.

Effect of The English declared that no ships should either
European war enter or leave Continental ports. Napoleon, the
on American emperor of the French, declared in return that no
commerce ships should enter or leave British ports. Such
declarations by nations at war are known as "blockades." Unless the nation ordering a blockade has warships enough to guard the ports it has ordered closed, the closing becomes merely what is called a "paper blockade," and vessels of other nations do not always observe it.

In this case it was impossible to guard all the ports blockaded, but English warships lay in wait outside of American harbors and captured American vessels bound for French ports, without waiting for them to reach their destinations. The French were equally active in capturing American ships on the way to England. Public opinion in America indicated that something must be done, and the cry of the country was for war. Especially was this the case when the British frigate *Leopard* stopped the United States frigate *Chesapeake*, and being re-
The American frigate *Chesapeake* fired upon, 1807
 refused the "right of search," fired upon her. The *Chesapeake*, not being in fighting trim, was obliged to surrender, and the British carried off from her four men, of whom three were American citizens. Americans everywhere clamored for war.

Jefferson, however, wished to avoid war, believing that the difficulties might be settled by other means. Before the affair of the *Leopard* and the *Chesapeake* Jefferson had at-
The Non-Intercourse Act
 tempted to obtain a treaty from England which should improve commercial conditions, but it had been impossible to come to terms. A law had been passed by Congress forbidding the bringing of English goods into the United States. This was followed in December, 1807, by a law which forbade any vessels to leave American
The Embargo Act, 1807
 ports. Such a law is called an Embargo. By these measures Jefferson hoped to bring England to terms. The effect, however, was quite different from what was expected. American exports had found ready sale in Europe, but Europe could exist without them; therefore it was America that suffered from the Embargo, — American ship-owners, American merchants, American farmers. The price which could be obtained for wheat was cut to less than half. Much of the tobacco raised could not be sold at all. Even Jefferson was obliged to admit that the Embargo was a failure.

Jefferson's second term was now drawing to a close. Like

Washington, he declined to be considered for a third term, and his friend Madison was elected President by the Republicans. But even before Madison took his seat, Congress had repealed the Embargo Act, and had substituted a law allowing trade with all nations not controlled by France or England.

Several attempts were made by the United States to adjust the differences, but with no results. A strong war spirit had developed, and it began to be evident that war with either England or France would probably be declared. There was cause enough for war with either. War with both was scarcely possible for a nation no stronger than the United States. The Republicans, and especially the "Young Republicans" of the West and South,

Territory settled in 1810
Compare with map on page 273.

led by Henry Clay and John Calhoun, clamored for war. The Federalists, representing the commercial interests of the country, were anxious to avoid war with England; the Republicans were anxious to fight the British rather than the French. Madison, who was now approaching the end of his first term, was anxious to fight nobody. But both the President and the Federalists had to submit to the strength of the "War Hawks," as the war party was known, and in June, 1812, war against England was declared. "Mr. Madison's War," the Federalists sneeringly called it, though Mr. Madison was doubtless quite as reluctant as they to enter upon it.

War against
England de-
clared June,
18, 1812

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. Impressment of seamen by the British continued to make trouble.
2. England and France, being at war, interfered with American merchant-ships, contrary to modern international law

3. The United States government, wishing to avoid war, tried to bring England and France to terms by non-importation and embargo acts.

4. The Embargo was resisted by American ship-owners, and also failed of any good results upon England and France.

5. The Republicans clamored for war. War was declared in June, 1812.

THINGS TO READ

"Yankee Ships and Yankee Sailors," Barnes, pp. 3-21, 35-50.

THINGS TO DO

Find the meaning of *Continental*, *frigate*, *embargo*, *international*.

VI

THE WAR OF 1812 BEGUN

THE circumstances surrounding the opening of the War of 1812 were not such as would indicate an easy and glorious victory. A President reluctant to ask Congress to declare war; a Congress nearly evenly divided when the declaration was made; whole sections of the country opposed to making war at all; an army and a navy which Republican economy had reduced to the lowest possible limits; the financial condition of the government weakened by more Republican economy,— these were some of the conditions; and with them was coupled inefficiency in the army, from the Secretary of War down through officers appointed for political reasons, and men who really believed that Canada was to be conquered simply by marching across the border.

From the first, the idea of the conquest of Canada met with favor; and, indeed, since it was necessary to send armies to protect the settlements on the border, carrying the war into the enemy's territory was the natural plan. It was at once decided to invade Canada at three points, — Detroit, Niagara, and Lake Champlain. Even before war was actually declared, armies were assembled at these places, and early in July orders were given to their commanders to enter Canada.

The story of the Northwestern campaign is not one of which we as Americans may be proud. Had the commanders — Hull at Detroit, and Dearborn, who was in charge of operations against Niagara and the St. Lawrence — moved swiftly and with definite purpose, and, above all, in conjunction, the story might have

ended differently. But orders from Washington were indefinite, and showed little knowledge of the necessities of the case. Hull was "to move when he liked," and Dearborn was "to take his own time." There could be little concerted action under orders like these, and, as we might expect, there was none. Hull's problem was, as Henry Adams puts it in his history of the time, "to march

The Canadian Frontier

two hundred miles, constructing a road as he went; to garrison Detroit; to guard at least sixty miles of road under the enemy's guns; to face a force in the field equal to his own, and another savage force of unknown numbers in his rear; to sweep the Canadian peninsula of British troops; to capture the fortress at Malden and the British fleet on Lake Erie, — and to do all this without the aid of a man or a boat between Sandusky and Quebec." Not a small task for a general both able and energetic, and Hull was neither. He crossed over into Canada, issued a proclamation, and a few weeks later crossed back again to Detroit. There the British general Brock followed him, and Hull, anxious, uncertain, having lost the confidence of his men, proved utterly unequal to the situa-

Hull's surren-
der of Detroit,
August 16,
1812

tion, and, without attempting any defense, surrendered the town August 16, 1812. It happened that the same day saw Fort Dearborn, on the site of the present city of Chicago, burned by Indians who had attacked and overwhelmed the garrison. The Western lakes were now in British hands.

Meanwhile Dearborn had been carrying on extensive preparations and enlisting volunteers, but had done nothing. Early in October a body of about six thousand militia and regulars was ready for an attack at Niagara. Six hundred men under General Van Rensselaer crossed the river, and fought well on Queenstown Heights, but the remainder of the militia refused to cross, and the attack was a failure. The command was transferred to General Smyth. A campaign of proclamations and fiery addresses from the general's pen followed. His pen proved more active than his sword, however, since he did none of the things he talked about doing, and finally, at the end of November, he disbanded his militia and asked leave of Dearborn to make a visit to his family — a visit from which he failed to return.

Lake Champlain and Approaches

Dearborn, meanwhile, with seven regiments of regulars was marching up Lake Champlain. At Plattsburg he added to his force a body of militia and on November 19 marched his army about twenty miles to the Canadian line. Then the militia declined to go farther, and Dearborn quietly returned to Plattsburg after a "campaign" of four days.

These disheartening events in the North, however much ex-President Jefferson might say of "the detestable treason of Hull," have a different meaning for us. They show us that "Republican economy" and the "peace spirit" of Jefferson had been carried too far. To enter a war with such an army as these policies had produced was to invite disaster. The charge "Americans can't fight" came near being justified. The American army was at its lowest ebb.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

Because of inefficiency in both officers and men, the movements of the army along the Canada line in 1812 were all failures.

THINGS TO READ

1. "The Story of the Great Lakes," Channing and Lansing, pp. 165-178.
2. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 400-405.

VII

THE NAVY IN THE WAR

CONDITIONS in the navy were in some respects quite as bad as those in the army. There were but sixteen sea-going vessels, and these had not been improved by being "laid up" most of the time since Republicans had come into power. Opposed to the thousand ships of the British navy, this seemed a force scarcely worth considering, and indeed the intention of the department at the outset of the war was to use the vessels chiefly to defend the coast. There was, however, one way in which the navy at once showed itself superior to the land forces. There were more officers than ships, and to this fact is doubtless due the excellent training and discipline of the men, for the officers took turns in commanding, and each was ambitious to do as well as the rest, or better if he could.

The old "broadside sailing frigate" may seem to us now a slow and clumsy instrument of war, but whatever of effectiveness there was in it was understood and exercised by the commanders in the little American navy. In the British navy, fleet combats had largely taken the place of fights between single ships, and long years of supremacy on the sea had made captains and men too sure of victory to spend time and energy on the rigorous training of former times. And these things were to tell in the series of "ship duels" which make up the naval history of the War of 1812.

The first of these encounters, between the *Constitution* and the *Guerrière*, took place early in the war. The *Constitution*, the best frigate in the American navy, on her way from Annapolis to New York found herself pursued and almost surrounded by a British

fleet of five vessels. Captain Hull, of the *Constitution*, made haste to escape, and for three days the five pressed close behind him. It was a trial of skill and endurance in which the *Constitution* fairly won, entering Boston harbor un-
The Constitution and the Guerrière, August 19, 1812
harmed, to the great delight of the townspeople. This was a fitting prelude to the real fight, which took place not many days later, when the *Constitution* met the *Guerrière*, one of the five, alone. For an hour the two ships

Battle between the *Constitution* and the *Guerrière*

sailed about each other, each trying to get the advantage of position. Then coming side by side, within pistol shot, firing began, broadside after broadside, and so the battle raged. Clouds of smoke and flame half hid the scene, while booming of cannon, creaking of falling masts, the shouting of orders, and the cries and groans of the dying filled the air.

In less than thirty minutes the *Guerrière* was left without a mast standing, and with great yawning holes in her sides. When the *Constitution* returned to Boston it was in triumph, as victor in the first success of the war.

The victory meant more than a British vessel sunk. "The echo of these guns startled the world," says Henry Adams. Respect for America abroad grew amazingly, while the victory did not fail of an effect at home. "The old Jeffersonian jealousy of the navy vanished in the flash of Hull's first broadside."

During the first year of the war there were five of these ship duels, in all of which the Americans were the victors. In 1813 there were four more, with two victories to America's account. England had, however, by this time succeeded in shutting up most of the American vessels in harbor, and she kept a vigilant blockade. But now and then one would slip out, so that we have record during the war of sixteen encounters, with only three defeats for the Americans. The *Constitution* was proudly called "Old Ironsides" by the exultant people, and the defeats in the Northwest were somewhat forgotten in the triumphs on the sea.

Meanwhile new efforts were being made to gain a foothold in Canada. New commanders, men who had learned how to fight and how to lead men, gave new courage to the troops. General William Henry Harrison, in command of an army made up mostly of Kentucky volunteers, took up the task of driving the British back upon their own territory. The way for his success was opened, however, by the gallant deeds of Captain Perry and his men on Lake Erie. The British had built a fleet of small ships on the lake, and little could be done by the Americans without a fleet of their own. Captain Perry was sent to take charge of building a lake fleet. So well did he do his work that when attacked early in September, 1813, by the British, Perry had nine vessels, while the British had but six. The American vessels were rude affairs, built from green timber, and with fewer guns than the British had. Perry had named his flagship the *Lawrence*, in honor of Captain Lawrence of the *Chesapeake*, who had died gallantly defending his ship against the British warship

Second campaign in the Northwest

Perry's victory on Lake Erie, September 10, 1813

The Constitution
This old frigate, the pride of the American people in this war, is still preserved in the Charlestown navy yard.

Shannon. Lawrence's dying words, "Don't give up the ship," were worked on Perry's battle flag.

The battle between these two little lake fleets has become famous. In a short time the *Lawrence* was so shattered by British shot that she could not be saved. The British expected surrender, but Perry had no idea of giving up. With the handful of men left on the flagship Perry, quickly embarked in a row-boat, and though bullets were falling like hail he safely reached another vessel of the fleet. Within a quarter of an hour after this the Americans succeeded in so disabling the British vessels that the whole British fleet surrendered. "We have met the enemy, and they are ours," Perry wrote to General Harrison. The way was now clear for Harrison to attack the British at Detroit. The British, however, feeling their weakness since their fleet was lost, withdrew to the Canadian side. There Harrison followed them, and in October defeated their army at the River Thames. The Americans thus regained the Northwest.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The first victories of the war were on the sea. The navy was small, but in sixteen "ship duels" during the war there were but three defeats for the Americans.
2. Captain Perry won a victory on Lake Erie, capturing the whole British fleet of six vessels.
3. Perry's victory opened the way for General Harrison to regain Detroit and the Northwest.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Hero Stories from American History," Blaisdell and Ball, pp. 156-168.
2. "American Hero Stories," Tappan, pp. 218-224.
3. "Yankee Ships and Yankee Sailors," Barnes.
4. "Four American Naval Heroes," Beebe, pp. 71-130.
5. "Twelve Naval Captains," Seawell, pp. 53-82, 102-129, 145-233.
6. "The War of 1812," Tomlinson.
7. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 415-431.
8. "How our Grandfathers Lived," Hart, pp. 238-255, 291-312.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the exact meaning of *discipline, frigate, supremacy, rigorous, vigilant.*
2. Make a list of famous ships engaged in the war. Prepare yourself to tell the story of one of the ship duels.
3. Look up the location of Lake Erie and Detroit.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Obtain a copy of a famous picture of the *Constitution*.
2. Copy in your notebook and learn Holmes's poem, "Old Ironsides." Find out when and why the poem was written.
3. Study the account of Perry's victory on Lake Erie. Imagine yourself a sailor on the *Lawrence*. Write an account of the engagement.

VIII

THE LAST YEAR OF THE WAR

IN 1814 the Americans again attempted to invade Canada, but in spite of brave fighting and two real victories — at Chipewewa and Lundy's Lane — no Canadian territory was gained. In this year, however, the British made several important moves. A large and well-trained army was sent down the St. Lawrence to Lake Champlain, to follow Burgoyne's old route through New York. Five thousand soldiers were sent to Chesapeake Bay to destroy Washington and other Eastern cities, while a large force was prepared to make an attack at the mouth of the Mississippi.

Of these expeditions only that against Washington was a success. The city was quite undefended, and the militia hastily gathered at the last minute accomplished nothing in holding back the British. The Capitol, the White House, and various other public buildings were burned, after which the British turned their attention to Baltimore.

An interesting story told in connection with the burning of Washington is that of Dolly Madison's bravery in saving important papers. The portrait of Washington which hung in the White House she cut from its frame and carried away with her to a place of safety. You must read about her adventures during these few days — more stirring probably than those any other President's wife ever had in Washington.

After failing to take Baltimore, which was more ably defended than Washington had been, the British soldiers sailed away to

the West Indies to join the force intended for the conquest of New Orleans.

In the meantime there had been assembled in Canada the largest and finest army England had ever sent into America. Early in September this army reached Lake Champlain, and a few days later the British fleet appeared. An American army had been stationed at Plattsburg, and a small fleet under Thomas Macdonough lay in the bay to assist the army in the defense of the works. The fight between Macdonough's ships and the British fleet, September 11, 1814, added one more victory to the credit of the American navy. When it was over and all of the British ships had surrendered, the British land forces lost no time in getting back to Canada, where they remained. Thus the second of the British plans came to an end.

The British greatly desired to obtain control of Louisiana and the Mississippi. Believing this to be the weakest part of the United States, they looked for no great difficulty in carrying out their plan, yet they sent a large force of their best soldiers to do the work.

The Americans had sent to defend New Orleans and the Gulf Coast Andrew Jackson, a man who had already won fame in the South and West by his victories against the Creek Indians. Jackson was a rough old backwoodsman, but well fitted for his task. When, in December, 1814, twelve thousand British soldiers were landed below New Orleans, Jackson with his troops went out to meet them; there were skirmishes, attacks, advances, retreats, and finally a great battle, January 8, 1815. Intrenched behind earthworks thrown up along the bed of an unused canal, Jackson's men used their muskets and their cannon so well that the British soldiers, brave and well trained as they were, could not endure the fire, and their attack completely failed. The British remained in the neighborhood of New Orleans for some days, then boarded their ships and sailed away.

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For months before the battle of New Orleans, commissioners from England and from the United States had been in session together at Ghent, in Belgium, trying to make a treaty which should satisfy both parties. Both British and American commissioners had received strict instruc-

The Battle of New Orleans

In which Andrew Jackson first won national fame. You will notice that the battle took place two weeks after the treaty of peace had been signed. How was this possible?

tions to make certain demands, and the negotiations progressed slowly. Sometimes there seemed little hope that any agreement could be reached. A London paper seems to have expressed the idea of the English government when it stated, September 29, 1814, "Peace they [the Americans] may make, but it must be on condition that America has not a foot of land on the waters of

the St. Lawrence — no settlement on the Lakes — no renewal of the treaties of 1783 and 1794.”

America was hardly likely to submit to this, or to the British proposal that a great Indian territory from which Americans were to be forever barred should be cut from the Northwest Territory.

On the other hand, the British refused to consider the American demand that England should abandon the right of search. Many things happened, however, to cause both governments to wish for peace. In America the Federalists had opposed the war vigorously from its very beginning, and as the war went on they opposed it more and more. Indeed, there were times when it seemed probable that the Union would be torn apart by the differing factions. Near the close of 1814 the New England Federalists sent delegates to a convention held at Hartford. This convention protested against continuing the war, and against what Federalists considered the misuse by the national government of its powers. It was rumored that the convention would recommend that New England withdraw from the Union. Alarm was felt throughout the country.

In England the people were growing tired of a war which reflected little credit upon either the British army or navy. Then, too, trouble with France was again impending. The sentiment of the English people was for peace.

Thus it happened that both sides were willing to sacrifice something in order to end the war. A treaty was made. It settled nothing, to be sure, except that there should be no more fighting. Impressment was not mentioned, nor were America's commercial rights on the sea. Other questions deemed equally important by the British were also passed over. No one seemed to have gained anything by the war. America, however, did gain one thing, although it was something not mentioned in treaties, —

The treaty of
Ghent signed
December 24,
1814

the respect of European nations. After the treaty of Ghent, England made no further attempts at impressment; and America's commercial rights were not questioned.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. In 1814 the British planned three campaigns.
2. The first, against Washington, resulted in the burning of the Capitol and other public buildings by British soldiers.
3. An expedition down the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain was stopped by Macdonough's naval victory on the lake. Again a whole British fleet was taken.
4. A British army attacking New Orleans was entirely defeated by General Andrew Jackson.
5. For many reasons both nations wished for peace. A treaty was made at Ghent, and signed December 24, 1814.
6. The treaty settled few of the questions about which war had been made. The war, however, had gained for America the respect of European nations.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Hero Stories from American History," Blaisdell and Ball, pp. 185-198.
2. "American History Stories," Tappan, pp. 224-230.
3. "Four American Patriots," Burton, pp. 133-176.
4. "Andrew Jackson," Brown, pp. 1-86.
5. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 431-450.
6. "How our Grandfathers Lived," Hart, pp. 274-291.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the exact meaning of *commissioners*, *negotiations*, *factions*, *impending*.
2. Study on the map the location of the St. Lawrence, Lake Champlain, Plattsburg, Chesapeake Bay, Washington, Baltimore, Jamaica, New Orleans.

OUTLINE

III. The Struggle for Commercial Independence, 1809-1817.

(President, James Madison.)

- A. Conditions which interfered with American commerce.
 1. War between France and England.

2. Grievances against England.
 - a. The "right of search"; impressment of American seamen; "once an Englishman, always an Englishman."
 - b. English blockade of Continental ports.
 - c. Seizure of American merchantmen bound for French ports. by English warships on the high seas.
 - d. The affair of the *Leopard* and the *Chesapeake*.
 3. Grievances against France.
 - a. Blockade of British ports in all parts of the world.
 - b. Blockade of Continental ports.
 - c. Seizure of American merchantmen.
 4. Jefferson's peace policy.
 - a. The Non-Importation Act, 1806.
 - b. The Embargo Act, 1807; repealed, 1809.
 - c. Non-Intercourse Act, 1809.
 5. The war spirit in the United States.
Federalists against France; Republicans against England.
 6. War against England declared, June, 1812.
 - a. Military and naval conditions in the United States.
Results of Republican economy on the army; the navy.
- B. The war.**
1. First campaign in the Northwest.
Hull's surrender of Detroit; failures in New York.
 2. War on the sea.
"Ship duels"; "Old Ironsides"; reasons for American victories on the ocean.
 3. Second campaign in the Northwest.
Perry's victory on Lake Erie; Harrison's victory at the River Thames; the West regained.
 4. British plans for 1814.
 - a. Attack on Washington; successful; city burned.
 - b. Attack on Baltimore; failed.
 - c. Expedition down the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain, a failure; army returned to Canada after Macdonough's victory on the lake.
 - d. Expedition against New Orleans.
Failed, the army being overwhelmingly defeated by General Jackson.
 5. The treaty of peace signed at Ghent, December 24, 1814.
 6. The results of the war.

NEW POLITICAL IDEAS AND PARTIES

IX

NEW POLITICAL ISSUES

You will often read that the greatest result of the War of 1812 was not the respect which the war gained for America abroad, but the great increase in the feeling of national-
Rise of national feeling tionality at home. It is true that the war had compelled Republicans to change many of their ideas. A government subjected to too much "simplicity, economy, and reform" had been shown incapable of protecting the national honor; and from this time the Republican watchword "Individual rights" began to give way to an increasing desire to maintain the national character of the United States.

James Monroe
President, 1817-1825.

The Federalists, who had lost their power through their unwise Alien and Sedition laws, had greatly increased their unpopularity by the Hartford Convention. In fact, by the end of Madison's term there was practically no party but the Republican. The administration of James Monroe, who followed Madison, is often called the "Era of Good Feeling," because of this. The existence of but a single party, however, does not always mean harmony. It did not in this case. A new element was springing up in the Republican party, and a few years were enough to show that the "Era of Good Feeling" was the time which just pre-

ceded the appearance of this new element as a full-fledged opponent to the party in power. New men from the West and South were taking the leadership in Congress — Henry Clay from Kentucky, and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina being the most important. It is interesting to notice that Clay, Calhoun, and Daniel Webster, for many years the most brilliant figures in American political life, all entered Congress just before the War of 1812. In the new “nationalist movement” Clay was the leader, and his ideas found ready followers among the “Young Republicans.” During Monroe’s administration, treaties with England and with Spain were made, defining the American boundaries, and adding Florida to the possessions of the United States. The new interest in the development of the country is shown at this time by the many projects for “internal improvement” planned by private ^{Internal} improvements companies, by state governments, and by Congress. The opposition of the old-time Republicans to spending national funds for such purposes was great, but they were urged forward by Henry Clay, by Calhoun, and by the increasing number of “nationalists.”

“Congress,” said Calhoun in 1817, must “bind the Republic together with a perfect system of roads and canals. Let us conquer space.” And again, “Whatever impedes the intercourse of the extremes with this, the center of the Republic, weakens the Union.” Clay made an earnest plea for the extension of the National Road, begun in 1811 to make a path over the Alleghenies. He contrasted the public works undertaken by Congress in the Atlantic states — lighthouses, coast surveys, seawalls — with the fact that “not one stone had yet been broken, not one spade of earth removed, in any Western state.” The road had been planned to reach the Mississippi; it was never carried so far, but Congress did extend it over the mountain barrier and into the heart of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. It was a slow and costly piece of work, “but when completed,” says one writer in regard to it, “there were no longer any Alleghenies.”

Meanwhile the changed position of the United States among nations was made clear by a bold declaration from the government at Washington that European hands must be kept off the Western continent. This declaration, known as the Monroe Doctrine, was made as a check to the European plan for restoring to Spain her revolted and now independent colonies in Mexico and South America. The Monroe Doctrine was put forth in a message of the President to Congress, and warned Europe that (1) any colony-making in the Western continent, (2) any attempt to extend monarchical government in America, (3) or any interference in South American politics, would be considered a hostile act by the United States.

While Monroe was President, the slavery question, for the first time, created serious difference of opinion between the Northern and the Southern members of Congress, and we see the prelude to a great struggle which was to last for nearly fifty years, and which ended only when slavery was finally stamped out.

When the Constitution was adopted, slavery, which had never flourished to any great extent in the North, had almost died out there. Indeed, it was supposed by many that it would die out even in the Southern states in time. A strong sentiment in opposition to bringing more slaves from Africa — to the slave trade — had grown up in the Northern states, and abolition societies were formed to urge that the slave trade be abolished. In 1808 the trade was made unlawful, and the feeling that now slavery in America must surely die out was quite general.

But already Whitney's cotton gin had come into general use, and, as we have already noticed, had greatly increased the demand for slaves. It was soon seen that slavery was far from dying out. By 1820 its importance in the cotton-raising states had become very great. "It was the cotton interest," says Daniel Webster, "that gave a new desire to promote slavery, to spread it, and to use its labor," while James Ford Rhodes, who has

made a most careful study of the whole slavery question, says, "It is more than probable that the invention of the cotton gin prevented the peaceful abolition of slavery."

By 1820 the original thirteen states had been increased to twenty-two. Of these, eleven were slave states, and eleven were called free states, because no slavery was allowed in them. Each

Picking Cotton

time that Congress voted to admit a free state to the Union, it was understood by the slaveholders that a slave state should also be admitted, and this was done in each case. Thus the power of the slave states in the Senate was kept equal to that of the free states.

In 1818 Missouri, a part of the Louisiana Purchase, applied for admission as a slave state. But in the North there was growing a strong feeling that the spread of slavery must be stopped, and a long debate took place in Congress in regard to the admission of Missouri. Southerners argued that Congress might refuse admission to Missouri, if it chose; but that, if admitting her at all, Congress had no right to do so on any other terms than terms of equality with the states already in the Union. They had chosen to be slave or to be free. So must she.

Excitement ran high in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. While the discussion still raged, Maine asked for admission to the Union as a free state. Had it not been for the discussion in regard to Missouri, there would have been probably no objection to admitting Maine, since Alabama, a slave state, had been admitted the year before, and Maine would merely balance that. Now, however, Southern members refused to vote for the admission of Maine, unless Missouri were allowed to come in as a slave state. Not until 1820 was the matter brought to settlement by what is known as the Missouri Compromise. Although Henry Clay was not the author of this law, we always associate it with his name, because his influence was one of the strong factors in its passage.

The Missouri Compromise provided: —

1. That Missouri should be admitted as a slave state.
2. That Maine should be admitted as a free state.
3. That slavery should be forever prohibited in all territory of the Louisiana Purchase north of 36° 30' (except Missouri).

This discussion of the slavery question showed the people of both North and South how the two sections had grown and were growing apart. "This momentous question," wrote Jefferson, now an old man at Monticello, "like a firebell in the night, awakened me and filled me with terror." From now on, we may watch a gradual

drawing away from each other of North and South until the crisis in 1861.

It was unfortunate that the North and South found added bitterness in their naturally opposite views regarding the tariff. Most Southern people believed that duties on foreign goods brought into the United States should be only large enough to give the government funds for its expenses — that is, that the tariff should be “for revenue only.” Higher duties than this, they argued, made hardship for Southerners, who because of the high duties would have to pay high prices for foreign goods. In the South little or no manufacturing was done, and the thought of the people was directed toward obtaining the supplies which they must buy at as low prices as possible.

In the North, on the other hand, manufacturing was becoming more and more the important industry, and the idea of a “protective tariff ” met with much favor. Manufacturers wished the government to place high duties on manufactured goods brought from Europe. Merchants in America would then be obliged to charge high prices for these goods; and people wishing to avoid paying such prices would buy similar goods made in America, which, being subject to no duty, would be lower in price. Removing foreign goods from competition or raising their price was, of course, an advantage to the American manufacturer. American goods would command higher prices, as well as meet with increased sale. To the South, which had to buy manufactured goods, but made none, this seemed like protecting the interests of one section of the country at the expense of the other, and the feeling in regard to the question became very intense.

We must not think, however, that all friends of the idea of protection wished high duties on the same articles, or agreed as to how high the duties should be. Tariff bills were passed from time to time, making changes in the list of dutiable goods, and changing the amount of duty required. But in a general way the

North favored protection, and the South opposed it more and more bitterly, as we shall see.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. By the end of Madison's administration the Federalist party had practically disappeared. Monroe's administration is often called the "Era of Good Feeling."

2. The great question now interesting the country was what is known as "internal improvement." The old-time Republicans opposed the use of national funds for such purposes, but new men in the party urged the development of the country by the government.

3. It began to be seen that the War of 1812 had given the United States greatly increased respect from European nations. During Monroe's administration the famous "Monroe Doctrine," warning Europe to keep her hands off the Western continent, was made. That this warning was heeded by the European powers shows America's changed position.

4. During Monroe's administration also we see the first serious discussion of the slavery question in Congress. The Missouri Compromise seemed to settle the question for the time.

5. The Missouri Compromise, which provided that with the exception of Missouri, no slave state should be made from the Louisiana Purchase territory north of 36° 30' was the first effort to stop the spread of slavery in the United States.

6. The beginning of bitter feeling between the Northern and Southern sections of the country was increased by their differing views on the tariff question. The South believed that the tariff should be "for revenue only." The people of the North wished to use the tariff to protect the manufacturing industries of the United States.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Side Lights on American History," Elson, Part I, Chapter VIII, "The Missouri Compromise"; and Chapter IX, "The Monroe Doctrine."
2. "School History of the United States," McMaster, pp. 266-277.
3. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 451-465.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *monarchical*, *abolition*, *revenue*, *dutiable*.
2. Study the public services of James Monroe.
3. Discuss in class: —

- (1) Why were better routes of travel over the Alleghenies necessary?
 - (2) For what commercial reasons were such routes desirable?
 - (3) What political end would be served by closer communication with the West?
4. Questions for brief oral or written answers: —
- (1) What political party disappeared in the years immediately following the War of 1812? What party alone remained?
 - (2) What question came up to divide the one party into two factions? Who were the "nationalists"?
 - (3) What are "public works"? Name some.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. The Monroe Doctrine.

This name has been given to the declaration contained in a message of President Monroe to Congress, which warned Europe that

(1) — — — — —; (2) — — — — —; (3) — — — — —.

2. Slavery in the United States before 1820.

The first negroes brought into what is now the United States were brought to — — —, in the year — — —, in an — — — vessel. There came to be slaves in all the colonies, but it was only in the — — — that they proved to be of value. In the raising of — — —, — — —, and — — —, they were considered most useful, and many were imported. By 1750 there were in Virginia nearly as many negroes as white people, and in South Carolina more negroes than whites.

The invention of the — — — — —, in the year — — —, made the raising of — — — more profitable, and more slaves were desired to work on the plantations.

The Northern states came to feel that slavery should not be permitted. One by one they abolished slavery. In the year — — — the ordinance prohibiting slavery in the — — — — — was passed by Congress. The slave trade was prohibited in the year — — —.

Of the original thirteen states — — — were slave states, and — — — had by the year 1819 become free. Of the nine states admitted between 1789 and 1819 — — — were slave and — — — were free. There were then in 1819, when the question of the admission of Missouri came up, — — — states in the Union, — — — slave states, and — — — free states.

3. Make a list of the states composing the Union in 1821. Mark each state as free or slave. Show the states on a map.

X

NEW POLITICAL PARTIES

WHEN Monroe's second term as President approached its end, the differing elements of the Republican party had not yet broken apart sufficiently to bring a second party into the field. The campaign preceding the election in 1824 was a contest of men rather than of parties. Four candidates, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, William Crawford, and Andrew

Jackson, received votes for President. Of these, we already know something of Clay, the champion of the West, the "Father of the National Road," and the advocate of the Missouri Compromise. Jackson, too, "Old Hickory," as his admirers called him, the hero of New Orleans, we know. Crawford, who was Secretary of the Treasury, was a Southern man, Georgia being his home; and John Quincy Adams was one of a famous Massachusetts family which before and since his time has produced many distinguished men. The election has been

John Quincy Adams
President, 1825-1829.

called the scrub race for the presidency. None of the candidates received votes enough to elect him, and the House of Representatives was obliged to choose, naming John Quincy Adams as President.

The great questions of the day were those concerning the tariff and the right or duty of the United States government to make internal improvements. On these questions new party lines

were drawn. The "Adams men," as they were called during the campaign, had, before the administration of Adams came to an end, formed the National Republican party. Loose Political construction, a protective tariff, and internal im- parties provements at national expense were the principles of the party.

The Republican party, now coming to be known as Democratic, continued to support strict construction, and became the opponent of protection and of internal improvements by the national government.

The country was being developed rapidly in these days. In 1825 the Erie

The Erie Canal and the National Road

Canal, from Buffalo to Albany, was opened. The building of this canal was the first step in the wonderful development of New York City, "which rose from a market town for the Hudson River to be the metropolis of the North." Villages

sprang up along the whole line of the canal, and the building up of western New York went on apace.

Other canals were built, roads were improved, and new roads

On a Canal-boat

made. Commerce was greatly increased. But canals were soon to be eclipsed — for the day of the railroad had come. The first The development of the modern railroad, with its wonderful speed and comfort, makes an interesting story, one that you must surely read. Here we may pause only for the bare

The Erie Canal, 1825

The first railroad, 1828

outline of the story. The steamboat, we have already learned, was an American gift to the world. For the steam locomotive we are indebted to an Englishman, George Stephenson. Who shall say which was the greater gift?

The idea of using rails for cars or coaches to travel on preceded the locomotive, and the first "railroads" were horse railroads or

tramways. Stephenson's "traveling engine" was, however, soon seen to be far beyond horse power, and steam soon replaced the horses. In 1825 a steam railroad was put into successful operation in England, and three years later ground was broken in

An Early Railroad Train

America for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, "first of the iron bonds between the East and the West."

Soon a fourteen mile section of this road was opened for traffic, and other roads followed it in quick succession. The United States, with its steamboats, its canals, and now its railroads, was entering upon a period of commercial activity of which its founders could scarcely have dreamed. Coal was coming into use as fuel, and was soon to give new impulse to the ironworking industry of Pennsylvania. Manufactures were increasing, and the whole country seemed roused to a new activity.

Closely interwoven with the increased manufacturing was the question of a protective tariff. The attitude of the manufacturing North, as well as that of the cotton-raising South, we have already considered. The laws which had been passed in regard to the tariff we are to consider now. At first the idea of protection was secondary in the minds of the lawmakers, and the first tariff was for revenue, to give the new government necessary funds. In the early days of the century

Tariff
legislation

manufacturing interests were small. The War of 1812, however, with the Non-Intercourse and Embargo Acts which preceded it, made necessary the production of manufactured goods in America, since none could now be brought from abroad. The war also ruined American commerce, and much of the capital employed before the war in shipping industries was now turned to manufacturing.

When the treaty of Ghent ended the war, and commercial intercourse with Europe was renewed, the country was immediately flooded with foreign goods, and the goods now being made in America could not be readily sold at the prices they had been commanding. Their makers called loudly to Congress to relieve their distress by placing high duties on foreign goods.

In 1816 a tariff act was passed by Congress, increasing duties on coarse cotton and woolen goods, and on various other things. In 1818 duties on iron were increased. In 1820 a tariff bill to increase duties on many articles — cotton and woolen goods and iron again, among other things — passed the House, and failed of passage in the Senate by a single vote. The South was aroused by the steady increase of duties, and when in 1824 a tariff law making still further increase was proposed and passed, Southern statesmen protested against the injustice to the South, and the more extreme among them began to talk of resistance. "A fig for the Constitution! — There is no magic in this word *union*," cried John Randolph of Virginia.

The history of the tariff is difficult to follow, since so many conflicting interests affected the tariff laws. New England woolen manufacturers wished low duties on imported wool, which they must have for their mills; but western sheep-owners were calling for high duties on wool, to protect their own industry. New England ship-owners wished cheap hemp for their cordage; Kentucky hemp growers pleaded for high duties to be placed on hemp. Ironworkers in New England wished cheap iron from abroad. Pennsylvania iron miners were desirous of keeping foreign iron out.

In 1827 a new tariff bill was proposed. The making of this bill was greatly affected by the approaching presidential election. The "Adams men" were ranged against the "Jackson men," and the latter bent every energy toward making a tariff which should help to defeat Adams and to elect Jackson. Their aim was to so frame a bill that their Congressmen would not vote for it. Then the manufacturers, who ardently desired increased protection, blaming Adams for the failure, would desert him in the presidential election. The law, as finally framed, raised duties on manufactured articles, as the manufacturers of the Northern and Middle states wished, and as the South violently opposed. But duties on raw materials were also raised, and thus the manufacturers were sure to lose whatever profits the duties on manufactured goods would bring them. No section of the country was pleased, but, contrary to the expectations of the Jackson men, enough of the New England congressmen voted for the bill to make it a law. This tariff has always been known as the "tariff of abominations." "It refers," said John Randolph, "to manufactures of no sort or kind except the manufacture of a President of the United States."

Feeling ran very high in the campaign preceding the election; the Democrats were successful in defeating Adams, and in making Andrew Jackson President. Thus, for the first time in the history of the republic, a man from beyond the mountains came to the presidential chair.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. After the election of John Quincy Adams to the presidency, new parties came into existence. These were formed on the questions of internal improvement and the tariff.

2. The National Republican party favored a strong national government, which should use national funds for internal improvement, and a tariff which should protect American industries.

3. The old Republican or Democratic party favored closely restricted

powers for the Federal government, leaving the states to take care of their internal improvements, and no protection.

4. The development of the country went on rapidly. The Erie Canal, other canals, new and better roads, and finally the railroad, came to make commerce increase.

5. The tariff question continued to agitate the country. In 1828 the "tariff of abominations" was passed. There was much excitement during the presidential campaign, and Adams failed to be reelected.

THINGS TO READ

1. "School History of the United States," McMaster, pp. 279-291.
2. "Hero Stories from American History," Blaisdell and Ball, pp. 199-216, A Hero's Welcome.
3. "Side Lights on American History," Elson, Part I, Chapter X, Lafayette's Visit.
4. "American Inventions and Inventors," Mowry, pp. 215-228.
5. "Days and Deeds a Hundred Years Ago," Stone and Fickett, pp. 94-120.
6. "From Trail to Railway," Brigham, pp. 1-110.
7. "The Growth of the American Nation," Judson, pp. 204-211.
8. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 472-477.
9. "How our Grandfathers Lived," Hart, pp. 47-50.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *abominations*, *metropolis*, *tramways*, *locomotive*.
2. Find out what you can about the Erie Canal. Show on a small map its route. Is it still of value?

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. John Quincy Adams. His ancestry. His education and character. His public services.
2. Canals and canal-boats.

Write a description of a canal, of the boats which travel upon it, and of the way they are made to move through the water. Tell why, even in these days of railroads and steamboats, people still use the slower canal-boat?

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3. Political parties, 1824 to 1828.

REPUBLICAN (DEMOCRATIC)		NATIONAL REPUBLICAN
	Beginning	
	Principles	
	Leaders	
	In power	

OUTLINE

IV. New Political Ideas and Parties, 1817-1829.

(Presidents: Monroe, 1817-1825; J. Q. Adams, 1825-1829.)

A. The Era of Good Feeling (Monroe's administration).

1. The Federalist party no longer existed; the Alien and Sedition laws and the Hartford Convention had destroyed it.
2. Factions were rising within the Democratic-Republican party; young men from the South and West; Henry Clay; John C. Calhoun.
3. Internal improvements as a political issue.
4. The Monroe Doctrine.
5. First contest over slavery; the Missouri Compromise.

B. The election of 1824.

1. A personal contest (Adams men — Jackson men) four candidates; votes so scattered that the House was obliged to elect; elected John Quincy Adams, although Jackson had led in the popular vote.
2. Formation of new parties.
National Republicans (the Adams men); party principles: protective tariff, internal improvements at government expense, loose construction.
The opposition party; kept the name Democratic-Republican; soon became known as Democrats; party principles: at first largely "hurrah for Jackson"; strict construction; opposed internal improvements.

C. The tariff of 1828, known as the tariff of abominations.

1. Review of tariff laws passed before this time. Hamilton's tariff; tariff of 1816; tariff of 1824.

PLATE 100

THE UNITED STATES IN 1900

THE DEMOCRACY LED BY JACKSON

XI

NULLIFICATION

THERE are few men who have had a part in our national life more interesting than Andrew Jackson. Jefferson had been sometimes called "the man of the people," because Andrew he so earnestly upheld the people's cause; but here Jackson was a "man of the people" whose interest flowed from the fact that he himself was one of them. Born into a family of poor mountaineers on the frontier of North Carolina, he had grown up like other mountaineers with little education, and amid the rudest surroundings. In his early manhood he moved to Tennessee. There he became a lawyer, and ten years later we find him a judge, although there seems to be a general agreement that he never had much knowledge of law. He was in Congress for a short time, but it was not until he had won renown through his exploits in the War of 1812 that his reputation extended far beyond his own state.

Andrew Jackson
President, 1829-1837.

The battle of New Orleans made Andrew Jackson a national hero; and his path to the presidency was clear. If anything

more than military glory had been needed to smooth the way, his lowly origin—his kinship with the common people—was enough. "Old Hickory" was a name born of love and admiration, and the qualities the term implies were all his. He was strong, unpolished, full of a rude dignity, and unswerving from his purpose. His government was so much a personal one that

The Hermitage
Jackson's home during his later life.

the term "the reign of Andrew Jackson" was applied to it by a political opponent. And the times of Jackson were important times in the United States, as we shall see.

Scarcely had his term of office begun, when a somewhat startling change in political methods was put into operation by Jackson and his party friends. "To the victors belong the spoils," a politician of the time had jestingly said; that is, to the party in

power belongs the privilege of making places in government offices for its friends. And for the first time in national politics hundreds of men employed by the government throughout the country were turned out of office for no other reason than that their places were desired for political friends of the President and the heads of departments. The "Spoils System" was The "Spoils a blot on Jackson's administration, and, worse than System" that, it gained a hold on American political life which has not yet been wholly overcome. Jackson called these wholesale removals "reform," and there seems reason to think that he believed them to be so, but they were considered otherwise by the opposing party.

On the great questions before the country in his day Jackson had always, as we should expect from our knowledge of the man, very decided opinions, and his mind once made up there was little hope of turning him from his purpose. He often came into conflict with his cabinet, and in the later years of his administration cabinet meetings were no longer held. A group of personal friends, sometimes called the "kitchen cabinet," Jackson allowed to become his constant advisers. Much was said about "the will of the people," and it is quite true that Jackson's measures always met with the people's support.

The tariff question continued to agitate the country. More and more, Southern statesmen denied the right of Congress to lay protective duties. Such laws were unconstitutional, Tariff they said. And if they were contrary to the Con- questions stitution, a state was quite justified in declining to obey them. The Union was only an agreement between the states, and the Federal government but the servant of the states. Each state was sovereign, as it had been before the Constitution was made. It might even withdraw, if it chose, from the Union. This was the Southern view — the doctrines of states' rights, nullification, and secession. These doctrines were ably upheld by Calhoun, and by Senator Hayne of South Carolina. In 1830 there

occurred in the Senate a famous debate on states' rights, and the doctrine of nullification. In several speeches Hayne put forth his argument, and each speech was answered by Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, who argued that the Union was a government of the *people* of the United States, and not of the states; and that nullification could mean only disunion. Then he went on, in a speech whose eloquence could not but move his hearers as it moves us to-day, showing what the Union meant or ought to mean to the people of all the states. "It is to that Union we owe our safety at home, and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that Union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country." And then came that wonderful appeal for the preservation of the Union — "When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on states dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, . . . not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured; . . . but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light . . . that . . . sentiment dear to every *true* American heart — *Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!*"

This speech of Webster undoubtedly strengthened the love of many for the Union. But so widely was the doctrine of nullification and even of secession advocated in the South that all lovers of the Union felt the danger to the country. For a time President Jackson's opinion was in doubt; but at a banquet in 1830, when asked for a toast, "Old Hickory's" response was, "Our Federal Union; it must be preserved!" and his position was plain.

In 1832 a new tariff bill became a law. It was somewhat more

moderate than that of 1828, but still strongly a protective tariff. In South Carolina, where the nullification sentiment was especially strong, a convention met to consider the matter, **Nullification in South Carolina, 1832** and passed the famous Nullification Ordinance, declaring the tariff laws of 1828 and 1832 to be "null, void, and no law, nor binding upon this state, its officers, or citizens." Nor was this all. "We will not submit to the application of force, on the part of the Federal government, to reduce this state to obedience," the convention declared, also, that in case the government did try to enforce obedience, "the people of this state will hold themselves absolved from all further obligation to maintain or preserve their political connection with the people of the other states, and will forthwith proceed to organize a separate government."

President Jackson's answer to this declaration was decided and prompt. In a proclamation to the people of South Carolina, he solemnly warned them that, unless they obeyed the laws, force must be used to make them obey; and he prepared to carry out his threat. Congress strongly supported Jackson, and the people of the rebellious state could not doubt **Compromise tariff of 1833** the earnestness of his purpose to enforce the laws. In the meantime a new tariff law had been passed, which by lowering the duties, helped to bring matters to a peaceful settlement. The South Carolina Convention voted to take back the ordinance, and nullification was at an end. The controversy, however, added to the growing antagonism between the North and the South.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. Andrew Jackson, the seventh President, was a man of great force of character, whose influence was greatly felt during his administration.
2. What is known as the "Spoils System" was begun by Jackson's removal from office of men who were not of his political party, and putting his own political friends into their places.

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3. The high tariff laws passed by Congress irritated the South. Southern men began to talk of "nullification," and even of secession, if the tariff were not reduced. Great debates on these questions took place in the Senate. Calhoun was the great advocate of "states' rights," while Daniel Webster made eloquent speeches in which he showed what the Union ought to mean to the people everywhere, and that the doctrines of the states' rights men could end only in disunion.

4. In 1832 the people of South Carolina called a convention to consider the tariff law passed that year. The convention passed the "Nullification Ordinance," and threatened, if force were used by the government to carry out the tariff law in South Carolina, to secede from the Union.

5. President Jackson took prompt and forcible measures to cause the people of South Carolina to obey the law. Congress, however, to avoid conflict, passed a "compromise tariff," which lowered the duties. The people of South Carolina then gave up their opposition.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Andrew Jackson," Brown (Riverside Biographical Series), pp. 87-145.
2. "Four American Patriots," Burton, pp. 133-192, The Story of Andrew Jackson.
3. "Four Great Americans," Baldwin, pp. 125-184, The Story of Daniel Webster.
4. Henry Clay, in "The Men who Made the Nation," Sparks, pp. 255-281.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *sovereign*, *inseparable*, *controversy*.
2. Think of descriptive words which you might use to show the character of Andrew Jackson.
3. Think out clearly the position taken by the "states' rights" men of the South. Compare their threats of secession with the position taken by the Federalists of New England at the time of the Hartford Convention. Review the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Andrew Jackson.

(Portrait)

"Our Federal Union! It must be preserved!"

2. State sovereignty or an indestructible Union.

States' rights advocated by people of the —, led by —. Their doctrine was — — — — —.

The indestructible Union advocated in the Senate by —, who did much to create a love for the Union like his own in the hearts of Northern people. His idea of the Constitution was that it was —, while the Southern leaders considered it only —.

3. Daniel Webster.

(Portrait)

Place here the quotation from Webster's great speech, on page 332.

XII

THE FINANCIAL QUESTIONS OF JACKSON'S TIMES

IN 1832 Jackson was reëlected by a large majority. During his second term the great question before the country concerned the United States Bank. Jackson believed this bank was not a good thing for the country; and, believing this, he bent all his energies toward its destruction.

Jackson opposed the United States Bank

The bank charter was to expire in 1836, and although the National Republicans in Congress succeeded in 1832 in passing a bill rechartering it, Jackson vetoed it, and it failed to become a law.

The next year Jackson aimed another blow at the power of the bank, by what is known as the "removal of deposits." Government funds were no longer deposited in the bank, but were placed in various banks under state control and friendly to the Democratic party. This act was opposed by many men of Jackson's own party, and even by some in his cabinet. But no amount of persuasion could turn him. The bank was a bad thing, he reasoned. The bank must be destroyed. And he chose the surest way to destroy it.

The effect of the "removal of deposits" reached much farther than the United States Bank. To understand this effect we must know a little of financial conditions at this time. The development of the West, the use of steamboats, the improvement of highways, the building of canals, and that wonderful new invention, the steam railway, made this a time of great business activity. Men everywhere were eager to undertake great enterprises. Much money was invested in Western lands; there was a general idea that great fortunes were to be

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made from these lands. People who had no money to invest were anxious to borrow. State governments were planning internal improvements on a large scale, and they too were anxious to borrow money. The banks could lend at a profit all the money they could get to lend. And in the excitement of the times many banks lent money which they did not have,—that is, they issued notes, hoping that if the notes came back to be redeemed in coin, they would then have the money with which to

View of Washington from the Capitol, 1832

redeem them. Government deposits in the selected banks — “pet banks” they were called by Jackson’s opponents — of course increased the amount of money which might be put into circulation. The spirit of speculation grew stronger than before. “Wild-cat banks” — which issued notes they never meant to redeem — sprang up. But one thing was needed to bring about a financial panic, and that one thing President Jackson supplied.

Jackson was what was called a “hard-money man.” He believed that only gold and silver money should be received by

the government, and he viewed with alarm the large numbers of bank-notes in circulation, and being paid into the United States Treasury for public lands in the West. As we have already seen, to believe a thing was wrong and to proceed to destroy it, if he could, always went together in "Old Hickory's" mind. He determined to stop the payment of paper money to the government, and when he was nearly at the end of his second term the order went out that hereafter nothing but gold and silver (specie) would be received in payment for public lands. The "Specie Circular," like Jackson's attack on the bank, was a harsh way of dealing with the situation. "Jackson simply smashed things," some one has said. Whether any other way could have been found to accomplish the end would be hard to say. This, at least, was Jackson's way.

Soon bank-notes began to come back to the banks that had issued them, to be redeemed in specie. The banks had little or no specie, and often had to suspend payment. People who had borrowed money were now desperately seeking to raise money with which to pay their debts. Holders of western lands lost all hope of making fortunes, and were anxious to sell at any price. Everybody wanted to sell, nobody to buy. Mills and factories found that their sales were rapidly falling off. People could not afford to buy their goods. Then the mills and factories had to close, men were thrown out of work, great poverty and distress followed. The time is known as the "panic of 1837."

Jackson had gone out of office in March of this year, but his party was still in power, with Martin Van Buren, Jackson's friend and adviser, as President. Even the government felt the financial trouble, much of its money having been in banks which were now unable to pay the money back. Van Buren urged that the government have a "treasury" of its own, and have no more business with banks. In 1840 the treasury was established by law, and the government became, as it still is, entirely independent in its financial affairs.

It is difficult to praise or to condemn Jackson's work in these stormy times, but it is surely true that when the "hard times" of 1837 had passed, and prosperity came again, it was on a stronger foundation than it had been before Jackson's "smashing things" had taken place.

The time of Jackson and his party's power was a time of great development in the United States. We have already mentioned some of the causes of this great awakening, and need pause now to notice only the rapid increase in the use of railroads and steamboats, and to consider some smaller inventions which had their influence on the increasing activity of the times.

Martin Van Buren
President, 1837-1841.

In 1828 three miles of railroad had been built in the United States; by 1840 there were twenty-two hundred miles. Steamboats, too, were by 1840 in general use on the Great Lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi. In 1819 a steamboat, the *Savannah*, had crossed the Atlantic, and in 1840 the Cunard Steamship Line between New York and Liverpool was regularly established. The time between Europe and America was reduced to ten or twelve days.

The increased facilities for travel of course increased commerce, and cut down not only the time of transportation, but the cost. Eastern and western goods were more freely exchanged, and the people of the East and the West came to know each other better.

Then, too, while commerce was increasing, farming was greatly aided by the use of recently invented machines for tilling, sowing, and reaping. The McCormick reaper, in particular, must be noticed. The difficulty in raising wheat had always been in harvesting the grain rapidly enough to prevent its spoiling. The horse reaper completely overcame this difficulty, and each year saw new lands in the West devoted to

wheat raising, and each year the value of the wheat crop grew greater. The reaper was to the wheat growers what the cotton gin had been to the planters of the South.

Other inventions were making changes in ways of living or methods of work. Friction matches were just coming into use.

Lamps were taking the place of candles, and in some places gas was being introduced for lighting purposes. Stoves were being improved, and were now largely used for heating, instead of the fireplace. *Changes in life and thought by 1840*
The wonderful

science of photography was given to the world by the invention of the daguerreotype in 1839. The steam hammer, invented in England in 1842, ranks high among labor-saving machines. The year 1844 saw two American inventions of immense importance to the world. One of these

The Oregon Country

Boundary in dispute until 1846. The Oregon question was prominent in Congress after 1820. In the presidential campaign of 1844 the Democrats demanded that the boundary be fixed at 54° 40'. "Fifty-four forty or fight" became a popular rallying cry.

was the process of vulcanizing rubber, thus rendering useful a substance which had for years been the hope and the despair of manufacturers. The other was the electric telegraph, invented by Samuel F. B. Morse, and its influence in the modern world

can hardly be estimated. Two years after the telegraph came the sewing machine, made by Elias Howe. For years men had been experimenting to perfect this, but Howe was the first to make a success of it. The current of life was no longer slow and calm. The modern hurry and bustle of city life began to appear.

The First McCormick Reaper

Newspapers, which had already become a feature of American life, greatly increased their influence, as more rapid transportation and improved methods of printing made it possible for them to print news earlier and to circulate it more widely. Great writers, whose work is now the pride of our country, began to appear. Washington Irving was already famous; Cooper, Poe, Hawthorne, Emerson, and Longfellow were entering upon their work. Such orators as Webster and Clay were firing the hearts of the people by their eloquence.

Samuel F. B. Morse

People began to see that the public schools, of which there were already many in the United States, must be increased and improved. They began, too, to care more for the welfare of their fellow-men, and to organize missionary and charitable societies, to reform prisons and asylums for the insane. A desire to overcome the

Howe's Original Sewing Machine

terrible evils of intemperance caused hundreds of temperance societies to be formed; while the feeling that no man should be held in slavery to another man grew rapidly enough to cause the beginning of the movement to abolish slaveholding in the United States. In 1831 William Lloyd Garrison, a young

Chicago in 1832

man of extreme antislavery views, began the publication of an abolition paper called the *Liberator*. It soon attained a wide circulation.

Garrison advocated immediate abolition. He denounced the Constitution for protecting slavery. He scorned union with slave states. He wrote in the *Liberator*, "I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population. . . . I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice—I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard."

In the South the antislavery movement was looked upon with horror. All feared that it would lead to insurrection among the slaves. The *Liberator* and other antislavery publications

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were forbidden circulation. Garrison himself was hated and despised.

In the North, also, antislavery sentiments found no favor at first. Merchants and business men had no desire to offend the South. Cultured people were repelled by Garrison's harsh manner

of speech. Even the churches condemned antislavery agitation. But antislavery teaching went on and in time its influence was felt.

Modern American life, as we see it about us to-day, had somehow come into existence during the ten years between 1830 and 1840. "The United States of 1830 presented few radical differences from the nation of a generation before; the United States of 1840 had almost forgotten that its past was more than a decade in extent."

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. There were serious financial difficulties during Jackson's second term.
2. Jackson believed that the United States Bank held too much power, and he succeeded in destroying it.
3. Speculation was carried on all over the country. Because so many people were anxious to borrow money for various enterprises, banking became very profitable, and a great increase in the number of banks followed. Many of these banks issued notes which they had not money to redeem, and the country was flooded with this paper money.
4. Jackson believed that only gold and silver should be received by the government. Large sums were being paid into the government treasury for Western lands; Jackson's "Specie Circular" forbade these payments to be made in anything but specie (gold or silver).

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5. Paper money came back to the banks for redemption, and many banks were ruined. The people holding the notes of these banks of course suffered too, and soon the whole country was feeling the effects of their trouble. The time is known as the "panic of 1837."

6. By 1840 great changes had come in ways of living and in ways of work. The steamboat and the railroad, greatly increased manufactures, the invention of labor-saving machines, all made wonderful changes. The West was developing very rapidly, and coming to be an important and influential part of the nation.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Andrew Jackson," Brown (Riverside Biographical Series), pp. 138-156.
2. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 478-480, 487-505.
3. "Students' History of the United States," Channing, pp. 399-414.
4. "Growth of the American Nation," Judson, pp. 234-243, 258-268.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *circulation* (as applied to money), *specie*, *treasury*, *prosperity*.
2. Find, with your teacher's assistance, answers to these questions:—
 - (1) Why do people put money into banks?
 - (2) Why do banks wish to receive people's money?
 - (3) What do the banks usually do with the money deposited in them?
 - (4) What are bank-notes?
 - (5) Can any one who wishes to establish a bank do so, and issue as many notes as he pleases?
 - (6) How was it possible for so many "wild-cat banks" to come into existence in Jackson's time?
 - (7) If all the depositors in a bank were to ask for their deposits on the same day, would the bank probably be able to meet the demand? Give a reason for your opinion.
3. Discuss:—

Do you agree with Garrison that no union was better than a union with slavery?

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

Inventions and improvements from 1825 to 1840.

- (1) The railroad — first in United States, 1828; twenty-two hundred miles built by 1840.

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- (2) The steamboat improved; by 1840 in general use on the Great Lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi; the Cunard Line across the Atlantic established in 1840.
- (3) Agricultural machines to take the place of hand labor; the McCormick reaper.
- (4) Improvements in lighting and heating; matches; gas; stoves; coal.
- (5) Platform scales invented; the lockstitch sewing machine first made and sold; many small articles made by machine instead of by hand.
- (6) The use of anaesthetics in surgical operations and dentistry.

OUTLINE

V. The Democracy led by Jackson, 1829-1841.

(Presidents: Jackson, 1829-1837; Van Buren, 1837-1841.)

- A. The new President; a "man of the people"; lack of political training; character and temperament of the man.
- B. The Spoils System.
- C. Opposition of the South to a protective tariff.
 1. Agitation following the tariff of 1828; not allayed by the slightly lower duties of the tariff of 1832.
 2. Convention in South Carolina passed Nullification Ordinance. November, 1832.
 3. Jackson's position: "Our Federal Union! it must be preserved." His proclamation to the people of South Carolina.
 4. The compromise tariff of 1833.
- D. Financial problems.
 1. Financial condition of the country; speculation; sale of public lands; money market; banking methods; government surplus.
 2. The United States Bank.
 - a. Its history; condition when Jackson came into office.
 - b. Jackson's veto of bill to recharter the bank.
 - c. Jackson's reflection followed by the "removal of deposits"; funds placed in state banks under Democratic control known as "pet banks."
 - d. Increase of state banks and speculation; "wild-cat banks."
 - e. The Specie Circular.
 - f. The panic of 1837.
 - g. The independent treasury.

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***E.* Social, industrial, and territorial expansion.**

1. Territorial growth since the United States became a nation.

a. The Louisiana Purchase.

b. The Oregon country; in dispute at this time; later boundary settled by treaty with England.

c. Florida; bought from Spain in 1819.

2. Mechanical aids to progress.

a. The railroad.

In 1828, three miles in America.

In 1837, fifteen hundred miles.

In 1840, twenty-two hundred miles.

Changes brought about by steam locomotion.

b. Improvement and increased use of the steamboat.

c. Minor inventions.

3. Effect of changes in mode of living and work upon social conditions.

SLAVERY THREATENS THE UNION

XIII

THE STRUGGLE FOR MORE SLAVE TERRITORY BEGINS

THE election of 1840 marks a break in the long-continued power of the Democratic-Republican party, or the Democratic party, as it had now come to be called. Since the days of Political Jefferson many changes had come about in party parties beliefs and principles, but through all changes the party had stood for state rights rather than for a strong national government, for a low tariff, and for strict construction of the Constitution.

The National Republican party, formed during the administration of John Quincy Adams, was now known as the Whig party. Its leader was still Henry Clay, and its principles, as they had been from the beginning, were in favor of a strong central government, liberal construction of the Constitution, and a protective tariff. Clay, however, having failed of election as President in 1832, the nomination of his party in 1836 and again in 1840 was given to General William Henry Harrison, a hero of the War of 1812.

In 1836, as we already know, Van Buren, the Democratic

candidate, was elected. In 1840 he was again the candidate of his party, but was defeated, and Harrison became the first Whig President. In this election we may see, also, the hold that the abolition movement was taking upon the North, since an anti-slavery party, calling itself the "Liberty party," entered the political field, and secured seven thousand votes for its candidate.

Wm. H. Harrison
President for one month, 1841.

Harrison was the first President to die in office. His death occurred after only a month of service, and his term was completed by Tyler, who had been Vice President. Tyler was not really a Whig in his political beliefs, but rather an anti-Jackson Democrat, and he soon came into conflict with the party which elected him. In 1844 he was not popular enough with his party to be renominated, and Clay was placed again at the head of his party ticket. Again he failed of election, and the Democratic candidate, James K. Polk, came into office. The Liberty party, a second time in the field, had in the four years since its formation gained many adherents, sixty thousand votes being cast for its candidate. The antislavery sentiment stirred up by the abolition societies had now spread sufficiently to make the extension of slavery a political issue which could no longer be ignored.

Thousands of petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia were sent to Congress. Southern congressmen used every means to prevent even the reading of these petitions, but a strong

John Tyler
Elected Vice President in 1840; became President on Harrison's death; served until 1845.

friend, not especially of the abolitionists, but of the "right of petition," arose in John Quincy Adams, now a representative from Massachusetts. So long, and with such fiery zeal, did he uphold the right of the people to send petitions on any subject to Congress, that he gained the name "the old man eloquent."

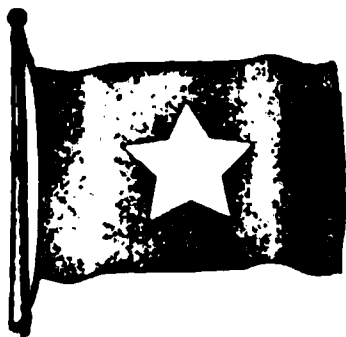
This denial by the Southerners of the right of petition did not help their cause. On the contrary, it added to the growing feeling against them, and with the election of 1848 we shall see the slavery question take precedence of all other issues, and become the great question before the nation. It had long disturbed the national peace; it now came to threaten the Union itself. We have seen how, year by year, the North and the South had grown more and more unlike, and more and more suspicious of each other; how the Missouri question had made the first real break between them; how differences concerning the tariff had further embittered the feeling of each toward the other. We know how ready different sections of the country had been to talk of nullification, when acts of the federal government had displeased them; and we have read South Carolina's open threat of secession in 1832.

The feeling had become very strong in the South that just treatment would never be given Southern states by the North, and that unless their power in the Senate could be kept equal to that of the Northern states, the South would see her industries and her ways of life interfered with, and her prosperity ruined. Keeping the power of the South in the Senate equal to that of the North meant that the number of slave states must be kept equal to the number of free states. Therefore we see struggle after struggle over the making of new

states. After the Missouri Compromise, which made the number of slave and free states equal, no states were admitted for fifteen years. Then Arkansas came in as a slave state and Michigan as a free state. The equality was still preserved, but by the terms of the Missouri Compromise far more territory was left from which to make free states than from which slave states could be made. The South saw its power threatened, and could see relief only in getting more territory which might become slave soil.

At this time Texas, which had been a part of Mexico, had fought against her Mexican rulers and had become independent.

The annexation of Texas, 1845 The Texans, however, wished to become a part of the United States, and asked that Texas be admitted to the Union as a state. The South welcomed the opportunity, for the Texans already had many slaves, and would



Texas Flag

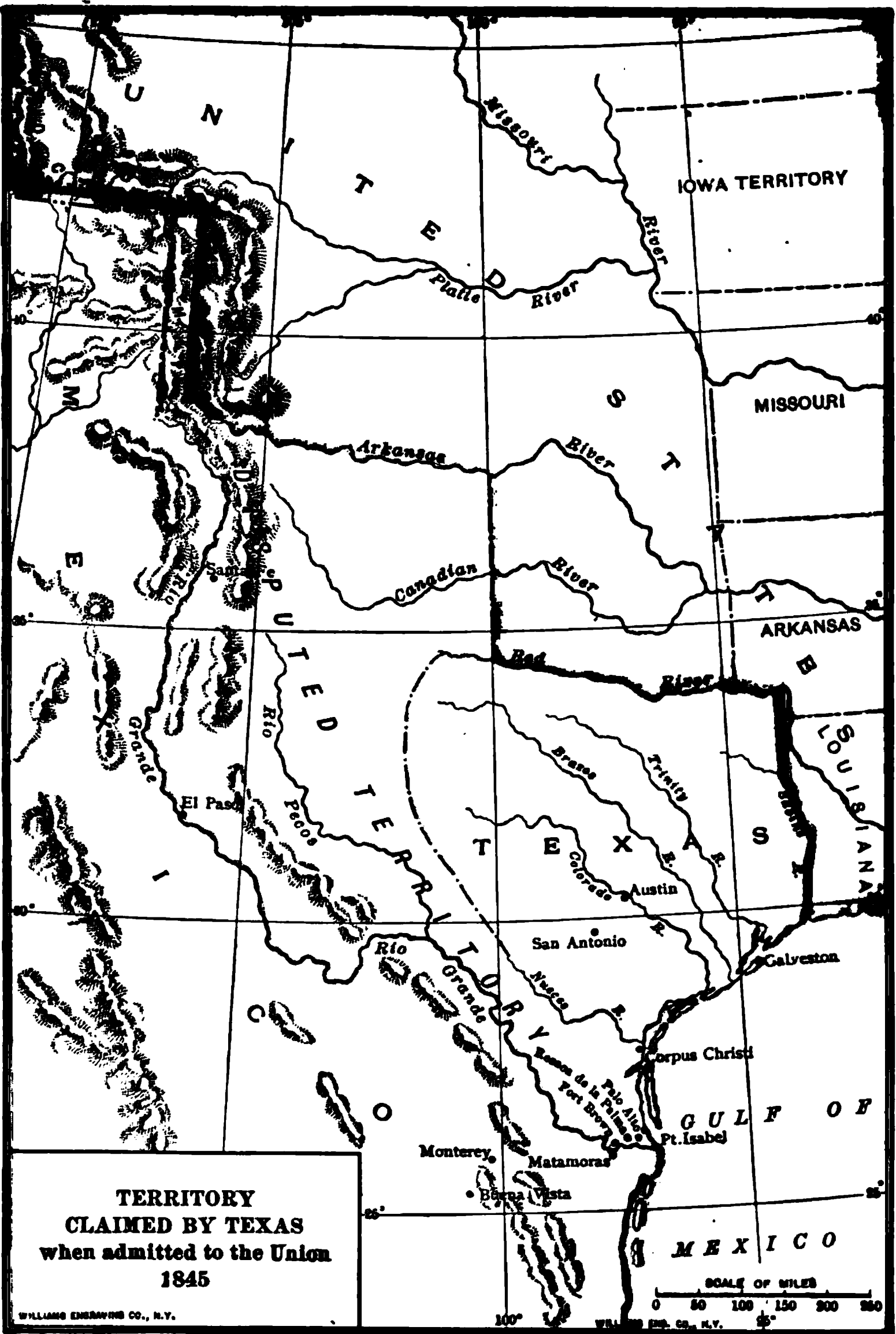
Texas is often called the
"Lone Star State."

undoubtedly wish to form a slave state, or perhaps better yet to have their territory cut up into several slave states, for Texas was more than five times as big as New York or Pennsylvania.

Northern congressmen tried to keep Texas out of the Union. They had no desire to see the South add four or five slave states, or even one, to her territory. Then, too, the annexation of Texas would be likely to bring on a war with Mexico. But the Southerners rather desired war than otherwise, and their members in Congress gained their point. Texas was admitted in 1845.

The war with Mexico, feared by the North, was not long in coming. Mexico was quick to resent the annexation of Texas by the United States, especially since Texas claimed more territory than she had been able to occupy when she had been independent. The United States supported the claim of Texas. A war with Mexico would give the United States a good excuse for forcing her weaker neighbor to give up still more territory — for already the eye of the nation

The Mexican War, 1846-1848



was on California. This was doubtless the real reason why President Polk was anxious to make war, and why he was supported by a majority in Congress; but it is not a reason which adds to the glory of our history.

American troops sent into the disputed territory were attacked there by Mexican soldiers, and President Polk's message to Congress stated: "War exists notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it — exists by the act of Mexico herself. Mexico has invaded our territory, and shed American blood upon American soil." If this had been true, it would indeed have justified the declaration of war which Congress at once passed. But there seems little to justify such a statement. It would seem rather that the war was forced upon Mexico, and that the blood shed was upon soil which Mexico had a right to claim.

James K. Polk
President, 1845-1849.

Some historians, indeed, do not take this view, but assert that Mexico brought the war upon herself by continued mistreatment of Americans; that the claim of Texas to the territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande was quite justified; and that President Polk did not advocate war until he had tried in vain to adjust the differences by peaceful means.

"The Mexicans," says Rhodes in his history, "thought that the war was the result of a deliberately calculated scheme of robbery on the part of the superior power." And there was a deep-rooted feeling in America that the war was unjustly begun — a feeling which is still upheld by many thoughtful students.

The war, however ingloriously begun, was one which reflected great credit upon the American army. General Taylor, who was in charge of the troops in the region of the Rio Grande, had defeated the Mexicans at the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma even before war was really declared. Following them

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across the river, he fought a three days' battle at Monterey in September, 1846, and again defeated the Mexican army. Pushing on toward the heart of the country, he was met (February,

Campaign of General Taylor

1847) by a Mexican force, four times as large as his own, at Buena Vista, where he gained a brilliant victory in spite of the unequal numbers.

Already, however, the principal scene of the war had shifted, and we find interest centering on General Scott's advance on the

Campaign of General Scott

city of Mexico. This campaign will long be known as one of the most brilliant and picturesque of modern history. From Vera Cruz on the coast, to Mexico, the capital city of the Republic,

the way of the American army lay over mountains, through passes and ravines, with fortified castles to be stormed and walled cities to be taken. At Cerro Gordo, a narrow mountain pass with high and rugged sides, the Mexican army, commanded by their president and general, Santa Anna, met the Americans. The

Territory ceded by Mexico, 1848-1853

battle ended with victory for Scott and the flight of Santa Anna. Then the Americans pressed their way over the crest of the mountains until the fair green valley and the beautiful city of Mexico lay before them. But there were fortified outposts to be taken and the frowning castle of Chapultepec.

On the 20th of August the task was begun, and though the

fighting was hard, one after another the outposts gave way and the American army was before the walls, inside which all the fleeing and defeated Mexicans had gathered. On September 8th the attack was begun, and five days later the grim old castle was carried by storm and the American soldiers swept on into the city itself. Mexico was conquered.

In the treaty which followed, Mexico was powerless to resist the will of the conqueror. California and New Mexico, as well as Texas, were made territory of the United States. That the United States paid eighteen millions of dollars to the Mexican government did not change the fact that Mexico was forced to sell her lands against her will. To the Union the purchase brought the bitterness of strife.

A great territory was added to the Union. Should it become a source of strength to the South, or should it be added to the free territory which was already greater than the area devoted to slavery? This became the burning question, and the South could see no justice in the Wilmot Proviso, proposed in Congress early during the war, to prohibit slavery forever in the territory that might be acquired. The Proviso was twice passed by the House, and it twice failed in the Senate. But the North was aroused. The abolitionists' cry, that slavery was "a sin, and a crime, and a blot on the nation," had at last won followers enough to make a stand against the further spread of the evil, — a stand with which the South must reckon. From 1847 until the crisis in 1861 all other questions fell back before this — "Shall slavery be confined within its present limits — or shall it be allowed to expand and to occupy the West?"

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The National Republican party, formed in the administration of John Quincy Adams, and now known as the Whig party, came into power in 1840, with the election of its candidate, William Henry Harrison, for President.

2. This election shows a new party, calling itself the "Liberty party," and having as its foundation the abolition of slavery. It is important only as it shows the growth of abolition sentiment.

3. In the election of 1844, the Democratic party came back into power. In this election the Liberty party candidates received more than eight times as many votes as they had in 1840.

4. The slavery question was now coming to be the most important political question of the day. The South believed that the North cared nothing for the prosperity of the Southern states, and that if the free states outnumbered the slave states, the future of the South would be spoiled.

5. For many years the South had relied on the equality in the Senate to guard her interests. There seemed now no likelihood of keeping this equality unless more territory from which slave states could be made were added to the United States.

6. The Southern people saw an opportunity to gain slave territory by the admission of Texas to the Union. This they succeeded in getting; they also provoked a war with Mexico in the hope of wresting from her more territory.

7. By the treaty following the Mexican War a great territory, largely south of the Missouri Compromise line, was added to the United States. Whether this territory should be slave or whether the spread of slavery should be stopped became the question of the time.

THINGS TO READ

1. From a speech delivered in the Senate, February, 1847, by Thomas Corwin:—

"You may wrest provinces from Mexico by war — you may hold them by the right of the strongest — you may rob her; but a treaty of peace to that effect with the people of Mexico, legitimately and freely made, you never will have! . . . You have taken from Mexico one fourth of her territory, and you now propose to run a line comprehending about another third, for what? . . . Why, says the chairman of this committee on foreign relations, it is the most reasonable thing in the world! We ought to have the Bay of San Francisco. Why? Because it is the best harbor on the Pacific! . . . I never yet heard a thief arraigned for stealing a horse plead that it was the best horse he could find in the country! . . . Sir, it is not meet that our old flag should throw its protecting folds over expeditions for lucre or for land. But you still say that you want room for your people. This has been the plea of every robber chief from Nimrod to the present hour. . . . Why is it, sir, that we, the United States, a people of yesterday compared with the older nations of the world, should be waging war for

territory — for “room”? Look at your country, extending from the Allegheny Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, capable itself of sustaining in comfort a larger population than will be in the whole Union for one hundred years to come. . . . You may carry them [your flags] to the loftiest peaks of the Cordilleras, they may wave with insolent triumph in the halls of the Montezumas, the armed men of Mexico may quail before them, but the weakest hand in Mexico, uplifted in prayer to the God of Justice, may call down against you a Power in the presence of which the iron hearts of your warriors shall be turned into ashes.”

2. “A Satire on the Mexican War,” from Biglow Papers, Lowell. In “Source Book of American History,” Hart, pp. 271–276.

3. “The Spanish in the Southwest,” Winterburn, pp. 97–222.

4. “Under Six Flags” (The Story of Texas), Davis, pp. 50–140.

5. “Side Lights on American History,” Elson, Part I, Chapter XII.

6. “History of the United States,” Elson, pp. 527–536.

7. “Students’ History of the United States,” Channing, pp. 417–423.

THINGS TO DO

1. Discuss in class:—

(1) Why do we consider the Mexican War as part of the general question of slaveholding in the United States?

(2) What made Southerners desirous of making war on Mexico?

(3) Was the United States justified in making war upon Mexico? Defend your opinion.

(4) Would the Wilmot Proviso have been fair to the South, had it been passed?

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. A study of political parties in 1840 and 1844.

	DEMOCRATIC	WHIG (NATIONAL REPUBLICAN)	LIBERTY	
Beginning				
Principles				
Leaders				
In power				

2. Associate with some fact in the history of slavery each of the following dates: 1619, 1787, 1793, 1808, 1820, 1845, 1848.

XIV

SLAVERY BECOMES THE FOREMOST QUESTION

As the election of 1848 approached, neither of the great parties was willing to take a decided stand on the slavery question. There were proslavery and antislavery Whigs, just as there were proslavery and antislavery Democrats. And neither party dared face defeat by coming out boldly on either side. Thus it happened that many Northern Whigs and Northern Democrats, whose hearts were now set upon "free soil in the territories" were dissatisfied with the action of their parties.

In August a convention of these dissatisfied Northerners met at Buffalo, and declaring itself for "free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men," put a third presidential

candidate into the field. The Liberty party joined forces with this new Free Soil party, and nearly three hundred thousand votes were cast for its candidate. The Whigs, however, elected their candidate,

General Taylor. The victory was won by the enthusiasm of the people for "Old Rough and Ready," the hero of the Mexican War. Taylor was the first of our Presidents to enter upon office with no political experience. He was a slaveholder, but not an advocate of slavery extension simply to strengthen the power of the South. His term was short, — he died little more than a

Zachary Taylor
President, 1849-1850. The
second President to die in
office.

year after taking office, — but he had already proved himself to be moved by a true love for his country.

At Taylor's death, Vice President Fillmore became President. Troubled days were before the nation. Congress had to face im-

mediately the question of slavery
Gold found in California, 1848 or free soil in the Mexican Cession. California, by a strange chance, was already eligible for statehood. Scarcely had the treaty with Mexico been signed when it was found that California was to be a source of undreamed-of wealth. Gold was discovered there, and it seemed as though the old dreams of the Spanish conquerors might be realized at last.

Millard Fillmore
 Elected Vice President in 1848; became President on Taylor's death; served the remainder of the term — 1850-1853.

Everywhere throughout the Union great numbers of men threw aside their humdrum occupations to join in the search for gold. Long processions of emigrant wagons wound their slow way over the prairies. Many adventurers took the long voyage around Cape Horn, or crossed the Isthmus of Panama.

Within a year San Francisco had become a city, and the country was dotted with mining camps. Before the end of 1849,

The Compro-
 mise of 1850 California had applied for admission as a state, and once more the old question of Northern and Southern equality in the Senate came up for settlement. There were now thirty states, fifteen slave and fifteen free. California asked for admission as a free state, and the South had no slave state to balance it, nor the prospect of any for many years. Seeing before them the downfall of the power for which they had

Miners washing or "panning"
 Gravel in Search for Gold

struggled so long, Southern congressmen entered upon a desperate attempt to keep California out of the Union, and to secure the rest of the Mexican Cession for slavery.

Other questions bearing upon slavery were also before the country. Slavery in the District of Columbia, especially the slave market in Washington, was a constant source of irritation to the North; while the South demanded a stronger Fugitive Slave Law, to stop the yearly loss of runaway slaves.

For nearly a year a great struggle went on. Early in the session of Congress Clay brought forward the last of his great compromises.

This "Compromise of 1850," or the "Omnibus Bill," as it was often called, provided:

Costumes of 1850

1. The admission of California as a free state.
2. The organization of the territories of Utah and New Mexico, without mention of slavery.
3. The abolition of the slave trade, though not of slavery, in the District of Columbia.
4. The payment of ten million dollars to Texas for territory ceded to the Federal government.
5. A new and more stringent Fugitive Slave Law, making it the duty of citizens to aid in capturing runaways.

The debate in the Senate over this compromise has been called "the battle of the giants." Many speeches were made, and much excitement prevailed. Clay, of course, spoke for the bill, while Calhoun, in the last speech of his life, opposed it, and presented the grievances of the South. Webster's opinion was

eagerly awaited, until, in his famous "Seventh of March" speech, he placed himself on the side of Clay and the Compromise. Seward of New York, representing the antislavery Whigs, took the other side, especially against the Fugitive Slave Law, which was strongly opposed by the North. In the end the Compromise was carried, and Clay hoped that, as in 1820, he had succeeded in making peace for another thirty years.

His hopes, however, were doomed to certain disappointment. A year or two of quiet followed the passage of the Compromise, it is true, and in the campaign preceding the election of 1852

By Brady.

Calhoun, Webster, and Clay

both Whigs and Democrats professed to believe the slavery question settled. But the Fugitive Slave Law was very irritating to the North; and the South still regarded the North with constant suspicion.

Attempts to enforce the slave law, and to return slaves who had escaped to Northern cities, brought the evils of slavery before the eyes of Northern people as nothing else could have done. In many Northern states "Personal Liberty Bills" were

passed, granting trial by jury to runaway slaves, and otherwise protecting them from the severity of the Fugitive Slave Law. Northern abolitionists helped thousands of slaves to escape. Indeed, there existed secret "stations" where runaways were received and from which they were passed on until they reached safety in Canada. This systematic and unlawful assistance to runaways was known as "The Underground Railroad."

Public sentiment was deeply affected, too, by Harriet Beecher Stowe's book, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," published in 1852. The book pictured life among slaves and slaveholders at its worst, and made many enemies for the institution of slavery. Rufus Choate said of it that it would make two millions of abolitionists, and there is little doubt that its effect was as great as he estimated it.

In the election of 1852 the victory of the Democratic candidate, Franklin Pierce, seems

Slave Quarters on a Southern Plantation

overwhelming when we read that the Democrats carried twenty-seven of the states, and the Whig but four. The ~~The election~~ contest was closer than it seems, however, since the ~~of 1852~~ majority for Pierce in many states was very small. There was, too, a feeling against agitation of the slavery question which helped the Democrats, since many people believed that less agitation was likely if the Democrats were in power.

A new party made its appearance in this campaign. It was a secret organization calling itself the American Party, made up of those who believed the greatly increasing immigration of the time

to be a menace to the country. Its object was to prevent foreigners from voting and especially from holding office. Its influence was directed particularly against Roman Catholics. Its members when asked about its principles always replied "I don't know," hence the party came to be called the "Know-nothing" party.

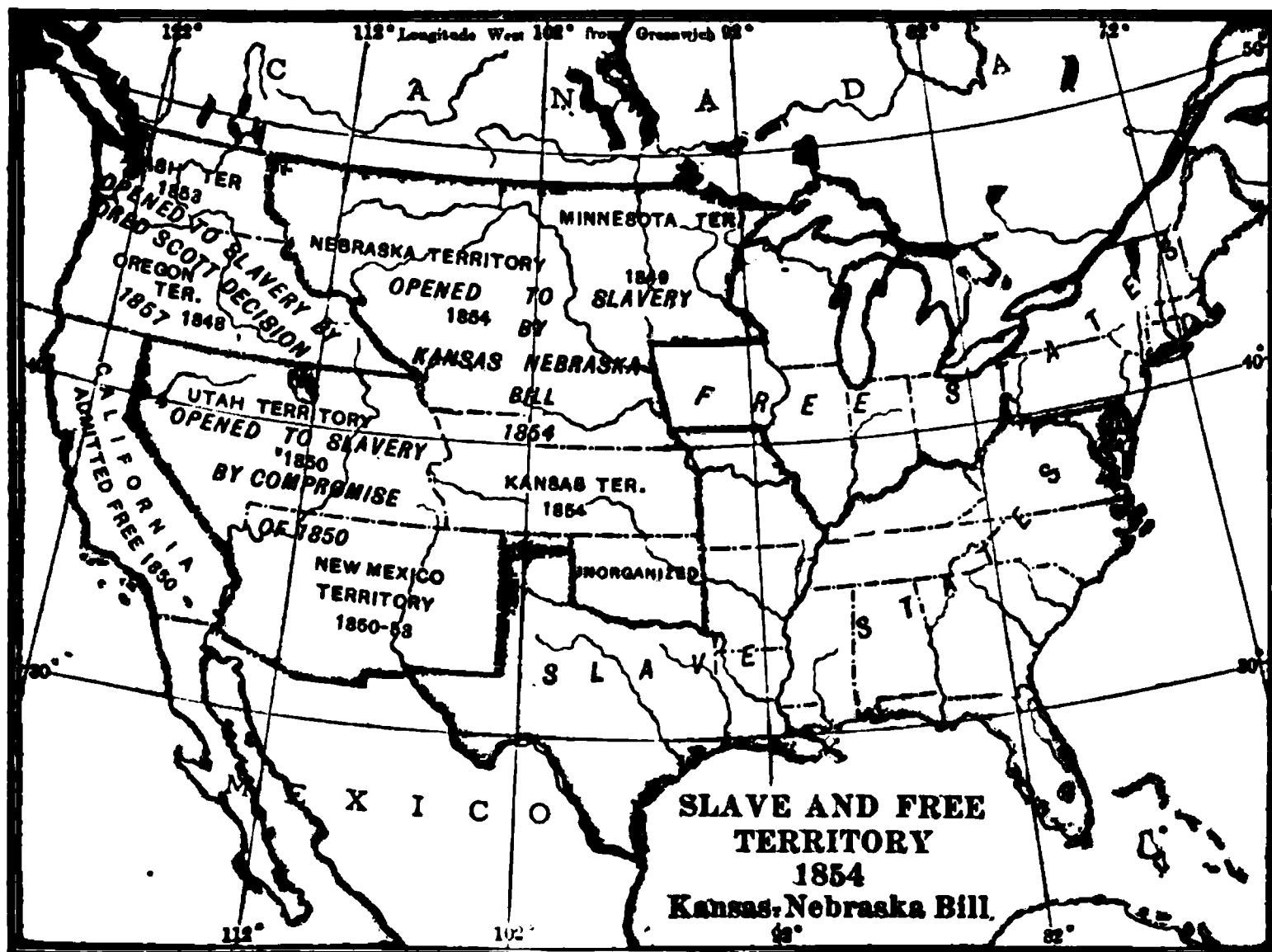
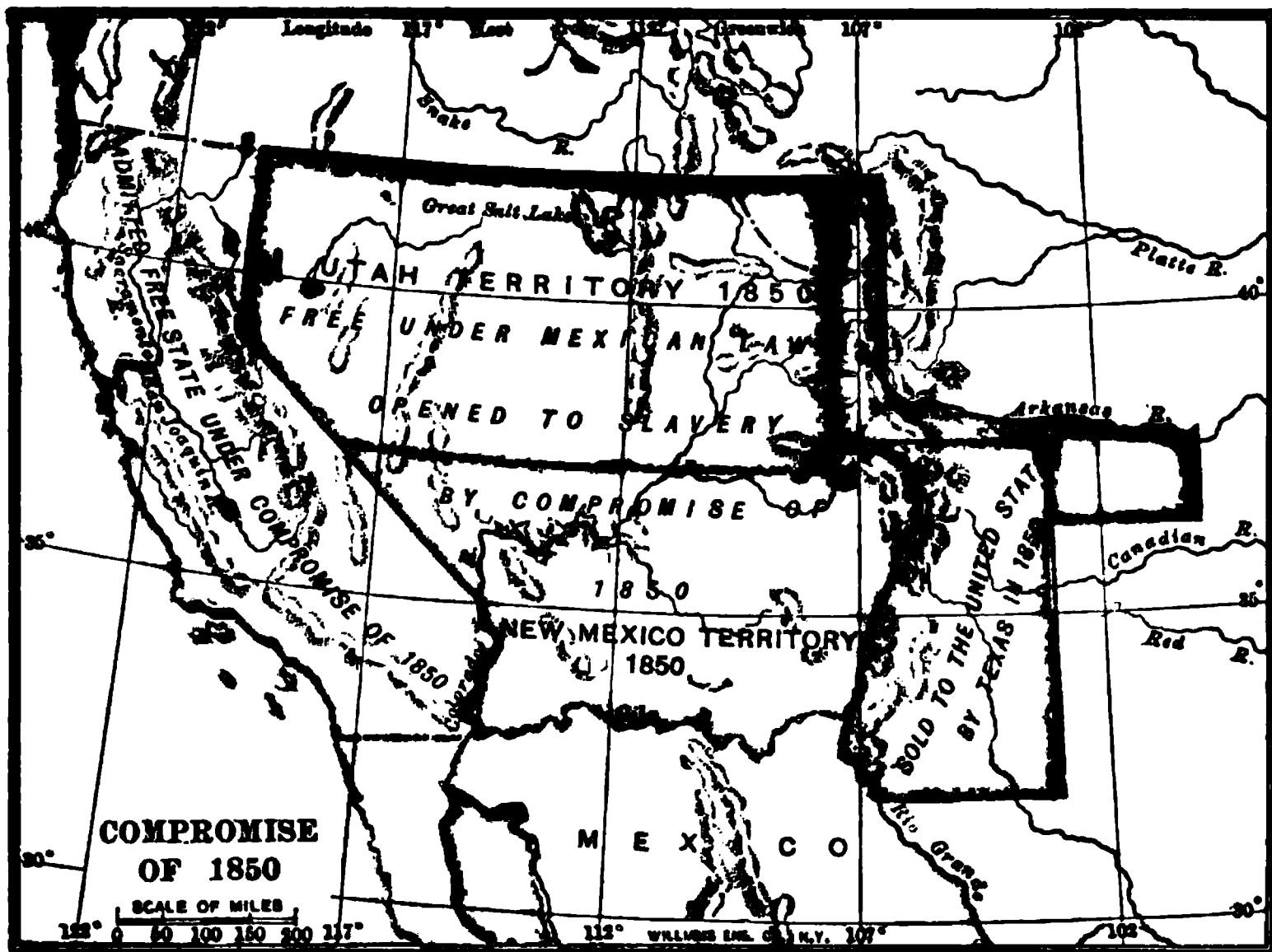
Agitation however, could no longer be avoided. The South saw, or professed to see, ahead of her nothing but political and industrial ruin, unless Northern interference with slavery could be checked. But one way of checking it seemed possible. Slave territory must be increased, and the equality of power in the Senate be restored.

With this end in view the Kansas-Nebraska bill was proposed in 1854. Kansas and Nebraska were to be organized

Franklin Pierce
President, 1853-1857.

as territories, and the bill provided that they might later enter the Union as slave states or free states, according to the wish of their people. This act was directly contrary to the Missouri Compromise, since both Kansas and Nebraska lay within the limits of the Louisiana Purchase and were north of 36° 30'. The bill brought another great debate in the Senate. Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, the great leaders in the earlier struggles, were no longer there. Each in his old age had gone down to death in sorrow and disappointment. But new leaders, men of a later generation, had arisen. Seward, who had upheld the antislavery side in 1850, Charles Sumner of

The Kansas-
Nebraska bill,
1854



Massachusetts, and Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, ably defended the Northern position, while Stephen Douglas, a Northerner, spoke for the other side. "Popular sovereignty" was the watchword of Douglas and his fellow-Democrats; that is, that hereafter the people of each territory should decide the slavery question for themselves.

The Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed, and its results were immediate and far-reaching. Northerners felt that the whole West was opened anew to slavery. They felt also that the slaveholders of the South had not acted fairly in thus voting to disregard the Missouri Compromise, and there was indignation and excitement at the North. Northern Whigs and Northern Democrats joined in denouncing the Kansas-Nebraska law; feeling that their parties could not be depended upon to take a strong and definite position in regard to slavery, they proceeded to organize a new party, which should unite all the opponents of slavery extension. This new party took the name Republican, and at the election of 1856 it had already gained strength enough to carry eleven states.

After the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, it became at once evident that the victory in Kansas would go to the side which could send the larger number of settlers into the territory. Bands calling themselves "Sons of the South" crossed over from Missouri, while many people were sent out from the North to win Kansas for freedom. The two factions had many encounters, and blood was many times shed on both sides. For two years the territory was in constant turmoil. Hundreds of people lost their lives, and many more their property. "Popular sovereignty" was seen to be far less easy of attainment than its advocates had seemed to believe. "Bleeding Kansas" became a political war cry in the North. In 1856 Charles Sumner made a speech in the Senate on "the crime against Kansas," in which he made a strong attack on slavery and slaveholders. This speech aroused great excitement in both North

and South, which was deepened when, a few days later, Preston Brooks, a representative from South Carolina, attempted to take revenge for Sumner's denunciations. Brooks attacked Sumner in the Senate chamber, beating him over the head with a cane, and injuring him severely. Another step had been taken toward making the feeling between North and South too strong for peaceable settlement.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. In the election of 1848, a new party appeared. It was made up of Northern men who were dissatisfied with the action of the Whigs and Democrats in regard to the slavery question. It was called the "Free Soil party," and the older Liberty party was soon absorbed by it.

2. Gold was discovered in California in 1848. There was a rush of men there in search of fortunes, and before the end of 1849 California had applied for admission as a state.

3. The proposed admission of California brought up the question of the equality of slave and free states in the Senate. Other slavery questions before the country concerned slaveholding in the District of Columbia and the Fugitive Slave Law.

4. The Compromise of 1850 attempted to settle these questions. Henry Clay was the author of this bill. It did not, however, as he hoped, calm the growing excitement over slave questions.

5. Many things combined to increase the bitterness between North and South. The Fugitive Slave Law irritated the abolitionists; Mrs. Stowe's book, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," made abolitionists of many of its readers; slaveholders were indignant because the Fugitive Slave Law was not obeyed in the North, and because Mrs. Stowe and other Northern writers showed slavery in so bad a light.

6. In 1854 the Southern members of Congress made one more effort to restore the equality in the Senate. This was by means of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which provided that, although both these territories were north of the Missouri Compromise line, they should when they were ready to become states be slave or free as their people should wish.

7. The Kansas-Nebraska bill made the Missouri Compromise of no effect. It increased sectional feeling, and brought about the organization of a "sectional party," which united all opponents of slavery extension.

8. The settlement of Kansas was a bloody struggle between proslavery and antislavery men, each determined to win the state for their side.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Uncle Tom's Cabin," Stowe. (Selections, at least, should be read.)
2. "The Boy Settlers," Brooks. (A Story of Kansas.)
3. "The Boy Emigrants," Brooks. (A Story of California.)
4. "Side Lights on American History," Elson, Part I, Chapters XIII, XIV, XV.
5. "The Making of the Great West," Drake, pp. 271-307.
6. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 548-556.
7. "Romance of the Civil War," Hart, pp. 1-69.

THINGS TO DO

1. Show on an outline map the location of California, Kansas, and Nebraska, and the Missouri Compromise line.
2. Make a list of slave and free states in 1854.
3. Questions for discussion:
What reasons had the South to complain in regard to the Fugitive Slave Law? Were people in the North justified in their action toward this law? What was the "Underground Railroad"? Was it right for Northern people to help slaves to escape? Compare the Personal Liberty Bills with the Nullification Ordinance of 1832.
4. Questions for brief oral or written answers:—
(1) What new party appeared in the election of 1848? On what principle was it founded? (2) Why has Henry Clay been called the "great peacemaker"? (3) What is meant by "popular sovereignty"? (4) What great leaders spoke in the Senate on the Compromise of 1850? Which were for it, and which against it? (5) Which party used the cry "Bleeding Kansas"?

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

HENRY CLAY, THE GREAT PEACEMAKER

(Portrait)

Write in a few sentences something of his early life; when he first came to Congress; to which party he belonged; his connection with the War of 1812; his efforts for the development of the West; the compromises which we associate with his name. Speak of his prominence in his party, and of the number of times he was nominated without success for President.

"I implore, as the best blessing which heaven can bestow on me on earth, that if the sad and direful event of the dissolution of the Union shall happen, I may not survive to behold the sad and heartrending spectacle."

— HENRY CLAY.

XV

ANTISLAVERY POWER

THE election of 1856 came at a time when the feeling in both North and South was strong and bitter. The chief candidates were James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, Democratic, and John C. Frémont of California, Republican. Frémont was not the ablest man of his party. In fact he had had little or no political experience and possessed few qualities to

The Election of 1856

make him a fitting candidate. The party was afraid, however, to nominate either Seward or Chase, its real leaders, or Judge McLean of the Supreme Court, who was proposed, lest some votes should be lost from this or that faction of the party. For

the Republican party, as we know, was made up of people of many differing shades of opinion, whose opposition to the extension of slavery alone bound them together. Frémont was chosen largely because he was a new man, and thus had no political past which would displease any one.

Much the same spirit governed the Democratic nomination. If the party had been made up wholly of Southerners, either President Pierce or Senator Douglas, both of whom were very popular in the South, might have been chosen. But Northern Democrats were not ready to indorse the extreme slavery views of the South, and it was feared by the party leaders that Northern votes might be lost if a strong proslavery man were nominated. So Buchanan obtained the nomination largely because he was a Northern man, and because he had been absent in Europe during the time of most of the recent slavery legislation, and so was not known to hold the strong proslavery sentiments which he afterward showed. The Democratic platform, however, was formed to appeal to the slaveholding Southerners, and as the canvass progressed it soon became evident that Buchanan would prove quite as acceptable to Southern Democrats as to those of the North. One Southern senator wrote to a friend that Buchanan was showing himself "as worthy of Southern confidence and Southern votes as ever Calhoun was."

The campaign brought out many able arguments for both sides. The strongest argument against the Republicans, and one which lost them many votes, was that they had formed a sectional party. Southerners protested that the election of Frémont would mean the government of the South by a hostile North, and declared that the South would never submit.

Buchanan was elected. He carried every state south of the Potomac, as well as Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. It was not, however, an easy victory. The Republicans had carried eleven states in the North, and it was plainly seen that the new party was a force with which to be reckoned.

The new President had scarcely taken his seat when a new agitation of the slavery question came up. For the first time the Supreme Court had occasion to consider a question bearing upon slavery in the territories, and the decision it gave out became of great importance. The case itself, concerning the slavery or possible freedom of a negro, Dred Scott, and his family, we need not attempt to follow closely.

The Dred
Scott deci-
sion, 1857

Our interest in it lies chiefly in the fact that the court took this occasion to issue its opinion that any act of Congress prohibiting slavery in any territory was not warranted by the Constitution, and was therefore void. This opinion, of course, if accepted without question, as Supreme Court decisions were supposed to be accepted, made it impossible in the future for Congress to make any laws regarding slavery in the territories. It thus opened all United States territory to slavery, and it seemed to strike a death blow to the Republican party, whose foundation was laid on the principle that it was not only

James Buchanan
President, 1857-1861.

the right but the duty of Congress to stop the spread of slavery.

There were at this time all shades of antislavery sentiment at the North. Besides abolitionists, who would stamp out slavery everywhere, and Republicans, who were banding together to stop its further spread, there were many who, while believing slavery to be wrong, considered a "sectional party" dangerous to the Union, and hoped that the bitterness of feeling would wear itself out and the matter come to a natural and friendly settlement. The Dred Scott decision, however, added many of these to the Republican ranks, for it became evident that only firm and united resistance on the part of Northern men could prevent slavery from becoming lawful everywhere in the United States.

It was at this time that Abraham Lincoln, the Republican candidate for senator from Illinois, made his now famous speech in which he said: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other."

This speech was widely discussed. Douglas, who was the candidate in opposition to Lincoln, at once replied to him; and a series of joint debates was later arranged between them. These debates attracted the attention of the whole country. Douglas was a national figure in politics, the leader of the Northern Democrats, and recognized as a master in debate. Lincoln was little known outside of Illinois; but Republicans everywhere began to be astonished at the ability he showed. Nowhere was his skill better shown than in the way he forced Douglas to discuss popular sovereignty and the Dred Scott decision. Douglas made valiant efforts to reconcile the two, for his popularity in the North depended on one, and in the South on the other. But try as he would, he could not make the two things go together. Lincoln did not advocate any interference with slavery in states where it was already legal. It was the *spread* of slaveholding he attacked. "If we could arrest the spread," he said on one occasion, "and place it where Washington and Jefferson and Madison placed it, it would be in the course of ultimate extinction." And again, "Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new — North as well as South."

Douglas was elected senator from Illinois. But the campaign had done for Lincoln and for the Republican party much that failure in the election could not offset. It had brought Lincoln

to a prominent place among Republicans, and he had given to the party clear and definite statements of its position and purpose.

And now occurred one of the strangest and most disquieting events of this exciting time. This was nothing less than an attempt by a mere handful of men to put an end to slavery by force. John Brown, who had been in the midst of the bloodiest Kansas troubles, was the deviser and leader of the wild scheme, which planned to liberate the slaves thus: —

George at Harper's Ferry

A stronghold in the mountains of Virginia was to be secured. From this Brown and his men were to sally forth on raids, freeing and arming the slaves, and leading them back to the mountain retreat. There, joined by the multitude of slaves who would hasten to place themselves under his protection, and reinforced by friends and converts from the North, Brown believed he would

THE UNITED STATES IN 1860.

PLACED PAGES OUT.

become strong enough to defy capture, and would make his name a terror to the slaveholders. He believed that he could make an end of slavery within two years.

In 1859, after Northern abolitionists had reluctantly agreed to give him financial backing, Brown with nineteen followers made the attempt to realize his dream. He entered Harper's Ferry, in Virginia, taking possession of the United States arsenal

Election of 1860

Compare with election of 1856.

and liberating a few slaves. But his triumph was short lived; for, as might have been expected, his band was speedily surrounded, attacked, and all but four of his men met death or capture. Brown was tried and executed by the Virginia authorities. But the excitement roused by his deed was slow in subsiding. Southerners believed it to be only a part of a widespread conspiracy, and laid one more charge at the door of the North. Many Northerners saw the folly and injustice of Brown's plan and condemned his act. Others looked upon him as a hero and a martyr.

As the presidential election of 1860 approached, it began to be seen that the struggle would be more than usually bitter. The slaveholders were becoming desperate as the increasing sentiment against them seemed likely to break their long-continued power. In 1857 the slave owners had controlled the South, the South had controlled the Democratic party, and the Democratic party had controlled the Union. Now, however, conditions had already changed. The long struggle to make Kansas a slave state seemed likely to end in failure; two free

states, Minnesota and Oregon, had been admitted, hopelessly destroying the equality in the Senate; the population of the North had passed far beyond that of the South, as had its wealth. The two sections were working and living along entirely different lines. In the North, manufacturing and mechanical

Growth of Settled Area, 1860

pursuits gave employment to hundreds of thousands. In the South, agriculture alone was fit employment for slaves, and of free labor there was practically none. Therefore by agriculture alone the South lived. Slavery had come to seem to the Southern people an absolute necessity to their prosperity, and the position of the antislavery men that slaveholding was a moral wrong filled them with anger and resentment. The Southern fight for the right to extend slavery was in reality only a fight to keep slavery from being killed out everywhere. Believing that the North would use its rapidly growing power in the national government to crush slavery even in the slave states, the slaveholders rallied for a last desperate fight at the polls.

Northern Democrats, however, were beginning to draw back from the South's extreme demands. They were willing to protect slavery in the South, and to leave the question of slavery in

the territories to the will of their inhabitants; but they hesitated to indorse the Dred Scott decision, and finally the Democratic party broke into two factions, each of which placed a candidate in the field. The Republicans, feeling as in 1856 that Seward, the real leader of the party, was too radical in his views to please many, united upon Lincoln, who had won reputation and confidence by his speeches in Illinois on slavery.

Lincoln was elected, and his election marks the beginning of a long period of Republican power. It also marks the point at which the long-strained bonds of friendship and sympathy between North and South broke. It marks the real beginning of civil war.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. In the election of 1856 the Republican party, although failing to elect its candidate, showed considerable strength. Nearly one third of the members of the Senate were Republican, while in the House they had ninety-two members to one hundred and thirty-one Democrats.

2. The new President, Buchanan, though a Northern man, was more in sympathy with the South than with his own section.

3. The Dred Scott decision struck a great blow at the principles of the Republican party, since it affirmed that Congress had no right to interfere with slaveholding in any territory.

4. Northern people feared that the next step would be to declare slavery lawful everywhere, even in free states. Many Northern voters joined the Republican party.

5. As the election of 1860 approached, even the Democrats of the North hesitated to follow their party in its proslavery ideas, and the Democratic party broke into two factions. This gave the Republicans their opportunity, and the election showed a strong majority for Lincoln, the Republican candidate.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Side Lights on American History," Elson, Part I, Chapters XVI and XVII; Part II, Chapter I.

2. "Stephen A. Douglas," Brown. (Riverside Biographical Series.)

3. "Abraham Lincoln," Hapgood, pp. 1-170.

4. "Abraham Lincoln for Boys and Girls," Moores, pp. 1-84.

5. "Four Great Americans," Baldwin, pp. 187-240.

6. From one of Douglas's speeches in the debates with Lincoln, 1858:—

"Now I hold that Illinois had a right to abolish and prohibit slavery as she did, and I hold that Kentucky has the same right to continue and protect slavery that Illinois had to abolish it, . . . and that each and every state of this Union is a sovereign power, with the right to do as it pleases upon the question of slavery, and upon all its domestic institutions.

"Now, my friends, if we will only act conscientiously and rigidly upon this great principle of popular sovereignty, which guarantees to each state and territory the right to do as it pleases on all things local and domestic, instead of Congress interfering, we will continue at peace with one another. Why should Illinois be at war with Missouri, or Kentucky with Ohio, or Virginia with New York, merely because their institutions differ? . . . This doctrine of Mr. Lincoln of uniformity among the institutions of the different states is a new doctrine, never dreamed of by Washington, Madison, or the framers of this government. . . . I believe that this new doctrine preached by Mr. Lincoln and his party will dissolve the Union if it succeeds."

7. "Romance of the Civil War," Hart, pp. 71-76.

8. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 586-625.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *arrest*, *ultimate*, *extinction*, *radical*.
2. Discuss in class:—
 - (1) How did the Dred Scott decision "open all United States territory to slavery"?
 - (2) Compare Douglas and Lincoln at the time of their famous debates.
 - (3) What causes brought Lincoln the presidential nomination? What probably caused his election?
3. Copy and study the election map on page 369. Can you account for the fact that Douglas carried only one state?
4. With what political doctrine do you associate each of the following men: Calhoun, Webster, Clay, Douglas, Lincoln?
5. Review topics I to VI in the Outline on page 268. Make sub-topics from memory under each one. Make a list of ten great events between 1800 and 1860.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Comparison of the North and South in 1860.

	NORTHERN STATES (EIGHTEEN)	SOUTHERN STATES (FIFTEEN)
Population		
Representa- tion in Con- gress		
Industries		
Labor		
Products		
Inventions		
Dependence on other sections or nations		

2. Study of political parties, 1856-1860.

	DEMOCRATIC	REPUBLICAN	CONSTITUTIONAL UNION
Beginning			
Principles			
Leaders			
In power			
Divided into because of			

OUTLINE

VI. Slavery threatens the Union, 1841-1860.

(Presidents: Harrison and Tyler, 1841-1845; Polk, 1845-1849; Taylor and Fillmore, 1849-1853; Pierce, 1853-1857; Buchanan, 1857-1861.)

A. History of slavery in America before 1841.

1. Important dates in history of slavery: 1619; 1787; 1793; 1808; 1820.
2. States composing the Union in 1841 classified as slave or free.
3. Growth of sectional bitterness.
 - a. Differences in climate, soil, occupations, and ways of living in the North and the South.
 - b. Differences in regard to the tariff reviewed.
 - c. Threats of nullification and secession in both North and South.
 - d. The abolition movement.
 - e. John Quincy Adams in Congress as defender of the "right of petition."
 - f. The Liberty party: its candidate received 7000 votes in 1840, 62,000 votes in 1844.

B. The Texas question.

Texas revolted from Mexico; declared independence; annexation; boundary dispute with Mexico; American soldiers on disputed ground; fired upon by Mexicans; war declared by United States.

C. The Mexican War, 1846-1848.

1. Taylor's victories:
 - a. In the disputed territory: Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma.
 - b. In Mexico: Monterey, Buena Vista.
2. Scott's attack on the Mexican capital.
3. The Wilmot Proviso (not passed).
4. The treaty of peace,

D. Slavery legislation and its results.

1. The Compromise of 1850.

California: free or slave; great debates in Congress; provisions of the law.
2. The Fugitive Slave law evaded or resisted in the North; the Underground Railroad; personal liberty bills; "Uncle Tom's Cabin": its influence.

- 3. The Kansas-Nebraska bill, 1854.**
Popular sovereignty: advocated by Douglas; provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska bill; proslavery and antislavery settlers in Kansas; "Bleeding Kansas."
- 4. Readjustment of political parties following the conflict in Kansas.**
 - a. Whig party broken up.**
Southern Whigs joined Democrats.
Northern Whigs, Free Soilers, antislavery Democrats, make up a new party — the Republican.
 - b. The election of Buchanan.**
- 5. The Dred Scott decision, 1857 —**
 - a. Opened all territories to slavery.**
 - b. Destroyed the doctrine of popular sovereignty.**
 - c. Led Northerners to fear that barriers to slavery would be broken down even in free states.**
- 6. The Lincoln-Douglas debates, 1858.**
"A house divided against itself cannot stand."
- 7. Balance of power in the Senate destroyed.**
- 8. John Brown's raid, 1859.**
- 9. The campaign of 1860.**
 - a. Democratic party divided: placed two candidates in the field.**
 - b. This gave the Republicans an advantage which resulted in victory.**

SECESSION AND CIVIL WAR

XVI

SECESSION

ABRAHAM LINCOLN was in many respects the most remarkable man who has occupied the presidential chair. Much has been written about him, and we must surely take time to read the story of his progress "from log cabin to White House." Here was a "man of the people" beside whom Jefferson or even Jackson seems an aristocrat. Born into a shiftless, poor white family, his early home the barest of log cabins, having almost no schooling, awkward and uncouth in manner, — yet President, by the will of the people of the United States. It sounds like a fairy tale. But we shall see as we read of him that his rough exterior covered a soul that was noble, a mind capable of solving grave problems, and a spirit that had great power over men. The man had risen out of and beyond his environment by this power, and he entered upon his duties, at this time of grave danger to his country, filled with a wise, far-seeing patriotism, which meant strength and justice and sympathy for all the people of the nation, — North and South.

The South, however, looked upon his election as the direst of calamities. Southerners held Lincoln to be the slaveholder's greatest enemy. This was true, in the sense that Lincoln's face was steadfastly set toward allowing slavery no further chance to grow, lest the day should come when slavery would be universal and the "free state" be no more. With slavery in the slave states Lincoln had no intention of interfering. The South, as in 1856, protested that the

success of the Republicans would mean the subordination of the South to a North bent on destroying it, and secession was openly threatened before the election. Most Northerners, however, paid

Photograph by Brady.

Abraham Lincoln

little attention to these threats, believing that, when once the excitement of the campaign had passed, a love like their own for the Union would reassert itself in the South. They did not

realize that the Southerner's patriotism was mainly for his state and not for the nation; nor that Southerners had never, since the days of Jackson, given up their belief that a state might nullify obnoxious laws or withdraw from the Union if it chose.

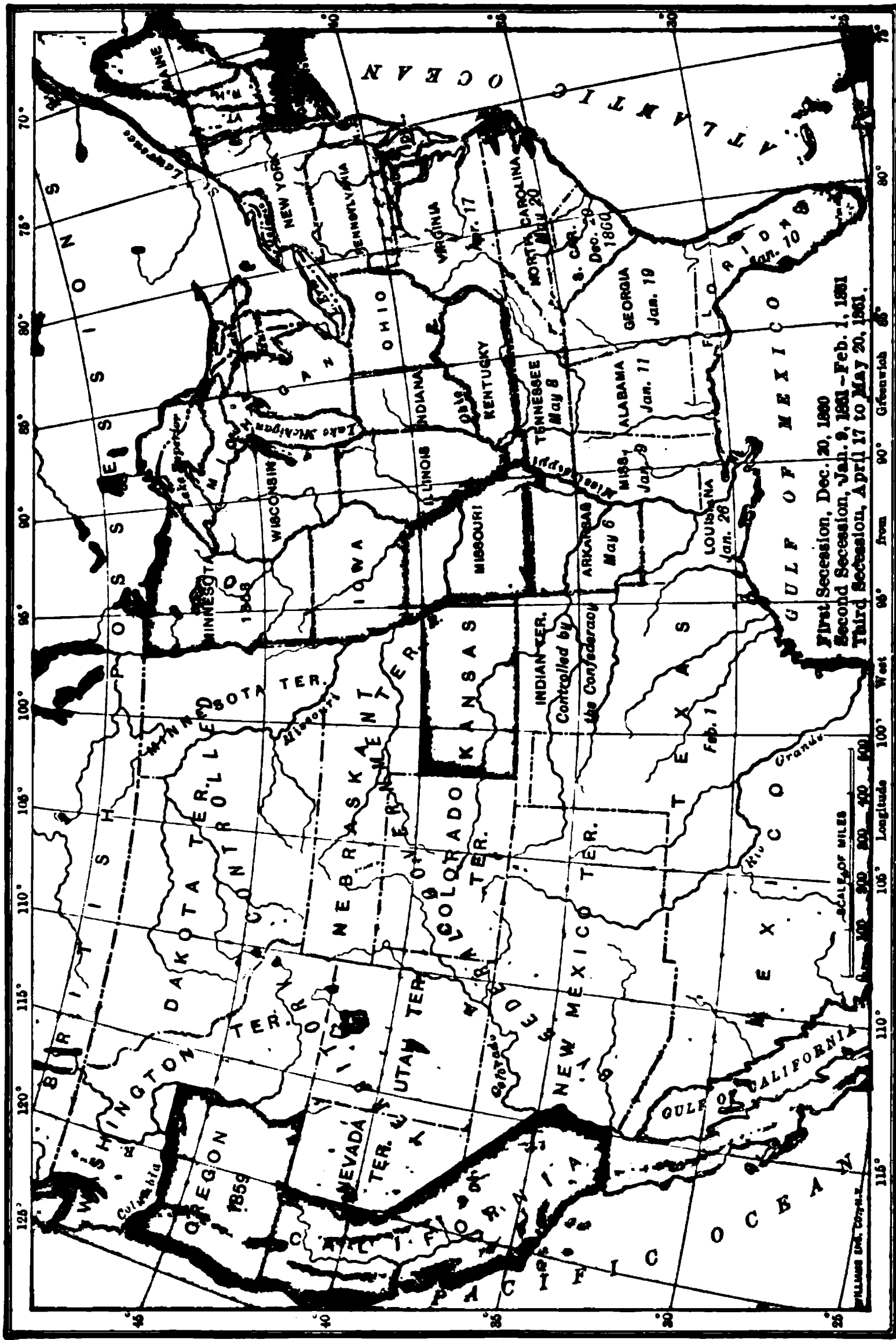
When the election was over, and Lincoln's suc-

Secession of seven states, December, 1860-Feb- ruary, 1861	announced, the whole South be- came frantic with anger against the
--	--

Lincoln's Birthplace

North. Less than a month had passed when South Carolina passed an ordinance of secession, and within six weeks Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas had followed her example. All this, of course, took place before Buchanan's term came to an end, but Buchanan was not the man to take vigorous steps to preserve the Union. His sympathies had long been with the South. Now indeed he expressed a belief that states had no right to secede, but when they did secede he feared to do anything about it. The seceded states formed a government. This government proceeded to seize United States forts, arsenals, and custom houses within its territory. Yet Buchanan hesitated to defend Federal property, arguing that the Constitution gave no right to "coerce a state."

During the last two months of Buchanan's administration the whole country was absorbed in the coming struggle. Compromises were proposed in Congress, and a peace convention assembled at Washington, but both failed to accomplish anything. Many people in the North were ready to give up much to prevent war, but Lincoln was strongly opposed to giving any territory to the spread of slavery, and his opinion was successful in



guiding his party. The North was far from united, and lacked entirely that patriotic devotion to its section which characterized the South.

We cannot better realize the feverish activity of the Southern leaders during the three months following the election of Lincoln than by following briefly the events they brought to pass.

On December 20, South Carolina passed a Secession Ordinance; between that date and February 1, at intervals of only a few days, seven states fell into line, and on

The Confed-
erate States of
America
organized Feb-
ruary 8, 1862;
Jefferson Davis
made President

February 8 the Confederacy was organized and a Constitution adopted. The next day Jefferson Davis, doubtless the ablest of Southern statesmen, was elected President of this Confederacy, and his inauguration preceded Lincoln's by several weeks. By this time the only Southern forts of any importance left in possession of the United States were Fort Sumter, in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, and Fort Pickens on the Florida coast. On February 15 the Confederate Congress declared that "immediate steps should be taken to obtain possession" of these two forts.

The new Congress also went systematically to work to provide

an army and a navy, to raise money, to open negotiations with foreign governments. On the day of Lincoln's inauguration a newly adopted Confederate flag was raised over the Confederacy's capitol at Montgomery, Alabama. And all the while the question of both North and South, "What will the United States government do about it?" remained unanswered. There was no interference from Buchanan, beyond the sending of a merchant

Jefferson Davis

steamer, the *Star of the West*, to Fort Sumter with supplies. Even this amounted to nothing, for the *Star of the West*, being fired upon by South Carolina guns, turned back. It remained for Lincoln to decide what should be done, and his decision may be guessed from these words in his inaugural address, "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government." Toward

Charleston harbor, then, all eyes were turned, each side waiting for the other to strike the blow which should mean war. Major Anderson, in

The fall of
Fort Sumter,
April 14, 1861,
the first blow of
the war



Charleston Harbor

command at Fort Sumter, had provisions for only a few weeks, and early in April Lincoln sent word to the governor of South Carolina that supplies would be sent to the fort. Confederate soldiers were waiting in Charleston for this moment, and decided

Bombardment of Fort Sumter

to take the fort at once, before the supplies could arrive. On the 12th of April the first gun was fired, and on the 14th Major Anderson was obliged to give up the fort. The first blow of a great war was struck.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. Lincoln's election was almost immediately followed by the secession of South Carolina, and soon by that of six other states. These seven states formed a government, which they called the Confederate States of America.
2. The new Confederacy took possession of United States arsenals, forts, and custom houses within its borders.
3. Buchanan, anxious to avoid war until he should go out of office, took no action to recover government property in Confederate hands, or even

to prevent their taking the few forts which were still held by United States soldiers. The merchant steamer *Star of the West*, which he sent with supplies to Fort Sumter, was driven back by South Carolina cannon, and he did nothing more.

4. Soon after Lincoln's inauguration, plans were made to reënforce Major Anderson at Fort Sumter. The Confederate soldiers in South Carolina attacked the fort before the reënforcements could arrive, and Anderson was obliged to surrender.

THINGS TO READ

1. Lincoln's First Inaugural Address. (Possibly only selections.)

2. "Abraham Lincoln." Moores, pp. 85-99.

3. On secession — by Southern men :—

"If we can maintain our personal safety, let us hold on to the present government; if not, we must take care of ourselves at all hazards. . . . The current of resistance is running rapidly over the South."

— THOMAS CLINGMAN, North Carolina, in the Senate, December 4, 1860.

"We believe that the only security for the institution to which we attach so much importance is secession and a Southern Confederacy. We are satisfied, notwithstanding the disclaimers upon the part of the Black Republicans to the contrary, that they intend to use the Federal power, when they get possession of it, to put down and extinguish the institution of slavery in the Southern states."

— ALFRED IVERSON, of Georgia, in the Senate, December 5, 1860.

"The Union, sir, is dissolved. That is an accomplished fact. . . . You may call it secession, or you may call it revolution; but there is a big fact standing before you, ready to oppose you—that fact is, freemen with arms in their hands."

— ROBERT TOOMBS, of Georgia, in the Senate, January 7, 1861.

4. On secession — by Northern men :—

"I hold that in contemplation of universal law, and of the Constitution, the union of these states is perpetual."

— ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861.

5. "Side Lights on American History," Elson, Part II, Chapters II, III, IV, VI.

6. "Source Book of American History," Hart, pp. 296-302.

7. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 628-646.
8. "Abraham Lincoln," Hapgood, pp. 171-236.
9. "Southern Soldier Stories," Eggleston, pp. 1-6.
10. "Reminiscences of Peace and War," Pryor, pp. 107-145.

THINGS TO DO

1. Mark in contrasting colors on an outline map of the United States: (1) the free states; (2) the seven states which formed the Confederacy on February 8, 1861; (3) the border slave states which at this time had taken neither side.

2. Study the extracts on secession given under the Things to Read. Show from them that it was really slavery that brought on war, and not simply the Southern belief in states' rights.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Abraham Lincoln.

His early life.

Write briefly of his parents; his early home; what he liked best to do; what sort of boy he was; how he began to earn his living; how he became a lawyer.

2. The Confederate States of America.

Formed by —— seceded states from the United States. Organized on —— date ——, with a constitution which guaranteed protection to slavery forever. —— was elected President, and —— Vice President. —— was made the capital of the Confederacy; here the new flag was raised on March 4, 1861. This flag, often called "The Stars and Bars," was made from the following design:— (See page 412.)

XVII

THE CIVIL WAR

As we start upon our study of the great Civil War, we must realize that we cannot follow, we cannot even mention, many of the movements and engagements of the two armies. A recent history of the time states that there were twenty-two hundred combats during the four years of the war, of which one hundred and forty-nine were important engagements. We could not understand detailed accounts of military movements, how this battle was lost or that won. The most we can hope to do is — first, to get an idea of the great scale upon which the war was conducted and of the spirit in which people, North and South, fought for their chosen cause; second, to learn something of the plans of the Federal government to win back to the Union the territory which the Confederacy called hers; third, to see how these plans worked out, and what brought the war to an end. To understand these things, we must first of all discover, as far as possible, the conditions under which the war was begun — what advantages, if any, either side possessed over the other, and whether these conditions changed as the war progressed.

The fall of Fort Sumter had one immediate and important effect. When the news reached the North that Southern soldiers had fired on the nation's flag, all discord and differences of party and opinion were at once forgotten. The one strong common sentiment at the North was love for the Union, and as a recent writer puts it, the firing on Sumter "reduced to a single sharp issue — the preservation of the Union and the supremacy of the Constitution — all the tangle of disputes for which slavery was re-

sponsible." We must keep this clearly in mind. It is undoubtedly true that slavery caused the Civil War, since it was because of slavery that secession came. But the long struggle over slavery did not produce a united North; nor indeed did secession, so long as the secessionists stopped with merely the assertion of their withdrawal from the Union, but the first shot against the flag awoke in the North all the fires of patriotism, and Jackson's old cry, "The Union must and shall be preserved!" became the watch-word.

The day after the fall of Fort Sumter Lincoln issued a call for seventy-five thousand volunteer soldiers. Within a month over sixty thousand more soldiers were enlisted, together with eighteen thousand sailors for the navy. In July Congress authorized the enlistment of half a million men and voted five hundred million dollars to carry on the war.

"We are coming, Father Abraham"

Much anxiety was felt by Lincoln in regard to the border slave states, which had not as yet joined the Confederacy. The Fort Sumter affair and Lincoln's call for volunteers, however, were closely followed by Virginia's secession, and within a few weeks Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee followed her example. There remained Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, and it was for some time hard to tell whether they would stay with the North or join their Southern neighbors and friends. Lincoln's great wisdom was shown in his treatment of these states, which all finally came out decidedly on the Union side. In Virginia, too, in the part of the state west of the

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Alleghenies, there was a strong Union sentiment which caused, before the war closed, the formation of this section into a new state, West Virginia. Virginia's joining the Confederacy was a great advantage to the South. Possession of the Shenandoah Valley by the Confederates made it possible for them to threaten Washington. The rivers of Virginia were strong natural defenses

The Confederacy, May 1, 1861

against an army moving southward, and, perhaps greatest of all, the three ablest generals of the Southern army were sons of Virginia.

For months after the first blow was struck both North and South echoed with preparations for war. In the North, soldiers were enlisted, equipped, and hurried to Washington. Preparations for war "The city begins to be a camp," wrote Seward in a letter of April 27. In the South the same activity existed, and

there was unbounded enthusiasm. On both sides there was a decided failure to appreciate the sincerity and patriotism of those who opposed them. One thing we shall find that the war

The Lee Mansion, Arlington, Virginia

The home of Robert E. Lee. A fine specimen of an old-time Virginia home. During the war it was seized by the United States government, and the property was afterward made use of as a national cemetery. Many thousands of soldiers lie buried there.

J. K. Hosmer says of Lee, "Robert E. Lee . . . reputed to be the ablest officer in the army, a man of moderate views on slavery and most reluctant to accept the idea of secession, refused the command of the Union army, threw in his lot with his state, and . . . April 2, looking for the last time as possessor upon his fair estate of Arlington, from the majestic portico bidding farewell to the beautiful city and the capitol upon its opposite height, he rode forth to what fate had in store for him."

accomplished. It gave each side ample reason to respect the fighting qualities of the other.

When the war began neither section had any idea of the greatness of the task before it. Each was inclined to magnify its own advantages, and to believe that it could speedily bring the other to terms.

The conditions, as we see them now, were these: —

1. The Southern people numbered but two fifths of the nation, and of this two fifths nearly half were slaves. This **Conditions** gave the North the advantage of numbers. She **when the war began** could put more soldiers in the field.

2. This advantage to the North was in part offset, however, by two things. The South could send, if need be, all her white men into the fighting ranks, since the slaves could be used for all other work. Then, too, fewer men would be needed for the defense of the South than for the aggressive warfare which the Northern army must carry on. Familiarity with the country was an added help to the Southern armies.

3. The North, because of the nature and variety of her industries, could sustain her armies and her people at home by her own products. The South, on the other hand, because her whole attention was given to the raising of a few staples, — cotton, rice, sugar, tobacco, — was dependent for support on communication with the outside world. She must sell her cotton in order to get supplies.

4. The possession of a navy was of great advantage to the North. It enabled the government to establish and maintain a blockade of Southern ports, which cut off the communication so necessary to the South.

5. One thing upon which the South confidently relied proved to be of little or no help to her. It was the belief of Southern **Southern belief** men that England would not allow the North to **that England** blockade Southern ports and shut up the supply of **would break** cotton which would soon be sorely needed in English **the blockade** mills; and so the South looked to England to break the blockade. This, however, England did not do. There were times when she seemed to be on the verge of giving her aid to the Confederacy, and Northerners anxiously watched her movements. "It is true we do not like slavery, but we want cotton, and we do not like your tariff," said one of England's leading public men

to a representative of the Federal government. The English hatred for slavery finally triumphed, and the blockade was not interfered with. This was a great disappointment to the South. They could no longer say or believe, "Cotton is king."

The greatest reason of all for the final outcome of the war was the superior sustaining power of the North. The South was almost literally starved out, but not before the self-sacrifice and devotion of Southern men and women had won the admiration of the world.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The Civil War is generally considered to have begun with the fall of Fort Sumter, April 14, 1861.

2. The attack on Fort Sumter had the effect of uniting the Northern people for defense of the Union.

3. Both North and South hurried forward their preparations for war, enlisting and equipping soldiers, and gathering supplies.

4. The four "doubtful states," Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, were considered by President Lincoln very necessary to the Union side, and Lincoln was very wise in his dealings with the people of these states.

5. There were advantages which each side in the war now beginning had over the other. On the whole, however, the greater wealth of the North, the number and variety of her industries, and her uninterrupted communication with the outside world gave her the stronger side. For these reasons it has been said that "the outcome of the war was decided before the first blow was struck."

6. The Confederate leaders had great hope that England would interfere to break the blockade which the United States government had established. This hope, however, was not realized.

THINGS TO READ

1. "History of the United States," Rhodes, Vol. III; pp. 357-359, 368-372, 381-383, 397-405.

2. "Side Lights on American History," Elson, Part II, pp. 129-147

3. "Studies in American History," Sheldon, pp. 327-330.

4. "The Appeal to Arms," Hosmer, pp. 5-13.

5. "History of the United States," Elson, 647-653.

6. "Abraham Lincoln," Hapgood, pp. 237-250.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *supremacy*, *desperadoes*.
2. Study carefully the advantages possessed by each side in the Civil War. Make a brief statement of these advantages, in parallel columns.
3. Discuss in class:—
 - (1) Why should the "doubtful states" have been doubtful?
 - (2) What special danger to the Union would have followed the secession of Maryland?

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. The Union spirit.

"There ought to be no New England man, no New Yorker, known on the continent: but all of us Americans,"

— GADSDEN, South Carolina, 1765.

"I can scarcely contemplate a more incalculable evil than the breaking of the union into two or more parts."

— THOMAS JEFFERSON, Virginia, 1788.

"Our Federal Union! It must be preserved!"

— ANDREW JACKSON, Tennessee, 1832.

"I have heard something about allegiance to the South. I know no South, no North, no East, no West, to which I owe any allegiance."

— HENRY CLAY, Kentucky.

"Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

— DANIEL WEBSTER, Massachusetts, 1830.

"It is a sad task to discuss questions so fearful as civil war, but sad as it is, bloody and disastrous as I expect it will be, I express it as my conviction before God that it is the duty of every American citizen to rally round the flag of his country."

— STEPHEN DOUGLAS, Illinois, 1861.

2. State love.

"Sir, I confess it, the first public love of my heart is the commonwealth of Massachusetts. . . . The love of this union grows out of this attachment to my native soil, and is rooted in it. I cherish it [the Union], because it affords the best external hope of her [Massachusetts] peace, her prosperity, her independence."

— JOSIAH QUINCY, Massachusetts, 1811.

"The sovereignty is in the several states, and our system is a union of twenty-four sovereign powers, under a constitutional compact, and not of a divided sovereignty between the states severally and the United States."

— JOHN CALHOUN, South Carolina, 1833.

"Should Georgia determine to go out of the Union — whatever the result may be, I shall bow to the will of the people. Their cause is my cause, and their destiny is my destiny."

— ALEXANDER STEPHENS, Georgia, 1860.

"If Virginia stands by the old Union, so will I. But if she secedes (though I do not believe in secession as a constitutional right, nor that there is a sufficient cause for revolution), then I will still follow my native state with my sword, and, if need be, with my life."

— ROBERT E. LEE, Virginia, 1861.

XVIII

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR

As the great fact that war was at hand came to be realized in the North, the first great fear was that the Southern army, fresh from its victory at Sumter, would be turned northward to attack Washington; and the whole strength of the incoming volunteers was massed to defend the capital. Soon, however, aggressive plans were formed by the North, although not until the beginning of 1862 was a general plan of war developed. This plan, as it came to definite form, was concerned with: —

1. A blockade of Southern ports.
2. The defense of Washington and the taking of Richmond.
3. The opening of the Mississippi.

These we must, of course, understand as definite parts of one great object — to hem in the Confederacy, to push its armies farther and farther back from the line of defense they had established along the Northern boundary of the seceding states. Every position wrested from the South meant a Confederacy growing smaller, so every position must be hotly contested. The line of the Union forces extended from Washington toward the West, following in a general way the Potomac, the Ohio, and the Missouri rivers. The Alleghenies and the Mississippi made a natural division of these forces into three armies. Through the early months of the war all eyes were turned on the army in the East — the Army of the Potomac — and in fact throughout the four years it was this army upon which attention was largely centered. At first it was composed mostly of raw recruits, and General Scott, the aged commander in chief, hesitated to bring on a battle. But the cry “On to

Richmond!" was resounding through the North, and the people grew more and more impatient with each day of delay. "Forward to Richmond! The Confederate Congress must not be allowed to meet there on the 20th of July!" was the "war cry" of the *New York Tribune* late in June.

It was finally decided that the Army of the Potomac should attack the Confederate force encamped only about thirty-five miles from Wash- Battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861
ington. General McDowell, in com-

mand of the Union army, had about thirty thousand men.

The two armies were about evenly matched in numbers, and both were made up mostly of raw troops. The charge was made at ten o'clock on Sunday morning, July 21, and until late afternoon the battle raged. At three o'clock all signs pointed to a Union vic-

tory; but fresh troops arriving to reënforce the Confederates turned the tide. The Union soldiers, exhausted by the fight and the long march which preceded it, broke before the Confederate charge, and the day ended in defeat and flight. Once in retreat, a panic of fright seized the troops and a mad rush for Washington followed. Had the Union troops been made up of seasoned men, the battle might have had a different ending, and indeed it is possible that the whole story of the war might have been changed. This was the first important battle of the war, and the news that it was a crushing defeat came as a severe blow to the North. The South went wild with joy. It has been said that this early success made the Confederates overconfident, while the shock and discouragement to the North

really did more good than a victory, since it was now seen that the task before the Union armies was far greater than had been dreamed.

General McClellan was now called to the command of the Army of the Potomac, and much was expected of him. He was an excellent drill master, and under his command the army was

soon put into fine fighting condition.

But it was not until late in the spring of 1862 that McClellan advanced against the enemy, although the President and the cabinet had been impatient for some time because of his inaction. "If the general doesn't want to use the army, I should like to borrow it," said Lincoln at one time. But it was in vain that Lincoln urged haste. McClellan could not or would not be hurried, and through many months the only fighting was in the West. There important gains were made, which did much to revive

George B. McClellan

the courage of the people in the North.

The Confederate forces of the Middle West were under the command of General A. S. Johnston, a very able soldier. His line of defense extended from western Virginia through southern Kentucky to the Mississippi, as you see it on the map. It had been strengthened at its weakest points, the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, by the erection of Fort Henry and Fort Donelson.

**Capture of
Forts Henry
and Donelson,
February, 1862** These forts were expected to stop the advance from the Ohio of Federal gunboats, which might otherwise penetrate the heart of Tennessee. To capture these two forts became at once the object of the Union army in the West. The mouth of each river was already in Union hands, and early in February seventeen thousand men

under General U. S. Grant and a fleet of gunboats under Commodore Foote set out to attack Fort Henry. A single day was sufficient to reduce the fort, and Grant pressed on toward Fort Donelson, while Foote returned to the Ohio, and then went up the Cumberland to assist in the second battle.

GALLUP'S ILLUSTRATIONS CO., N. Y.

The Confederacy, Close of 1861
Compare with the map on page 388.

Before Grant reached Fort Donelson, however, General Johnston had largely increased the force defending it, so that the battle was not so easy to win as that with the sister fort. The fighting lasted for three days. At one time the outlook for the Union soldiers was very discouraging, but, as we shall often notice when we come to know General Grant better, discouraging conditions had little effect on him. His ammunition was

nearly gone and his men were in confusion, but instead of retreating, he says, "Noticing that the enemy did not take advantage of my situation, I concluded that he probably was in a worse condition than I, and so at once ordered a new attack." In a short time the Confederates were obliged to give up. The commander of the fort sent to General Grant to ask the terms upon which he would be willing to stop fighting, and Grant won his first fame by his answer: "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." "Unconditional Surrender Grant" they called him in the North when the story was told there. The story of this battle tells us much about General

First and Second Confederate Lines of Defense

WILLIAM L. BROWN CO., N.Y.

Grant. The qualities he showed here were those which made him a great commander.

The capture of Fort Henry and Fort Donelson made the first break in the Confederate line. Columbus and Nashville were given up, and a new line was formed from Island No. 10, in the Mississippi, to Corinth. The Union forces under Grant, about thirty-three thousand men, started up the Tennessee River, but spring freshets forced them to encamp at Pittsburgh Landing. Here Grant awaited General Buell with about thirty thousand men from Nashville. But before Buell could reach him Grant was attacked by the Confederates under Johnston and Beaure-

gard. The terrible battle of Shiloh followed, lasting for two days (April 6-7). The first day's fighting gave the advantage to the Confederates, but Buell's timely arrival brought victory on the second day to Grant. The Union forces lost thirteen thousand men; the Confederate loss was somewhat less, but the death of Johnston was a severe blow to the Southern cause. The victory at Shiloh was followed by a Union advance which caused the

Gun and Mortar Boats on the Mississippi at Bombardment of Island No. 10

From an engraving published during the war.

abandonment of Corinth. Meanwhile Island No. 10 had been captured, and on the 6th of June Memphis was surrendered. Thus by early summer in 1862 Kentucky and most of Tennessee had been reclaimed to the Union, and a good beginning had been made in opening the upper Mississippi. By this time, too, the mouth of the river had fallen into Union hands. The events which brought about this result we have yet to discuss.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The plan of war adopted by the Federal government had three great objects: (1) to blockade Southern ports, and cut off the South from trade and communication with foreign nations; (2) to defend Washington from capture and to take Richmond, the Confederate capital; (3) to open the Mississippi.

2. The first battle between Union and Confederate soldiers, at Bull Run, in Virginia, resulted in victory for the Confederates. The people of the North saw that it would not be so easy to conquer the South as was at first thought.

3. The Army of the Potomac was now thoroughly organized and drilled by General McClellan, who had been put in command. No more fighting was undertaken, however, until the summer of 1862.

4. In the Middle West the Confederate line was pushed back by the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson, and by succeeding Union successes, so that by the summer of 1862 Kentucky and most of Tennessee had been reclaimed to the Union, and both the upper Mississippi and the mouth of the river had been opened, leaving only about two hundred and fifty miles, from Vicksburg to Port Hudson, in Confederate hands.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Four American Patriots," Burton, pp. 195-233.
2. "Ulysses S. Grant," Allen (Riverside Biographical Series), pp. 1-64.
3. "Source Book," Hart, pp. 303-311.
4. Romance of the Civil War, "Source Reader No. 4," Hart.
5. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 653-668.
6. "Reminiscences of Peace and War," Pryor, pp. 174-195.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *aggressive*, *recruits*.
2. Discuss in class these questions:—
 - (1) Was it wise or unwise for the Confederacy to remove its capital from Montgomery to Richmond? For what reason was the change probably made?
 - (2) What reasons are there why eastern Virginia should have been so important a war center?
3. Study the lines of the two armies in the Middle West at the beginning of action. Mark on an outline map the "doubtful states." What

effect do you think Grant's victories at Fort Henry and Fort Donelson and the withdrawal of the Confederate army from Kentucky had upon the people of that state?

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Prepare a chronological chart of three parallel columns to record the important events "in the East," "in the West," and "on the ocean." Place in their proper columns, each with its date, the capture of Fort Sumter, the battle of Bull Run, the capture of Fort Henry, the capture of Fort Donelson, the battle of Shiloh.

2. Make a brief statement of the career and public service of General Scott, who when war broke out was commander in chief of the United States army.

XIX

WAR ON SEA AND LAND

At the very beginning of war — but five days after Sumter fell — the President had declared a blockade of Southern ports, and all haste was now being made to render this declaration effective. No mere “paper blockade” would be observed. The government bought or chartered every kind of craft, “from coal barge to ocean liner,” that could be obtained, while navy yards, private shipbuilders, and machine shops worked night and day turning out ships, engines, and guns. Within a year a large part of the coast was effectually guarded, but there remained many places which it was difficult, almost impossible, to close to the “blockade runners.” Much romance clusters about the adventurous careers of these ships. Selected for their speed, and painted gray, it was no easy task for the guards along the harbor mouth to discover and overtake them. They approached the harbors cautiously, and usually waited until night to make the run by the guards. Charleston, Wilmington, New Orleans, and Galveston remained in Confederate hands, and the blockade runners carried away from them many cargoes of cotton. New Orleans, the largest city of the South, and the outlet of trade for the Mississippi, must be taken. The Confederates, realizing this, had guarded the city by two forts on opposite sides of the river, nearly at its mouth. A heavy chain, supported by anchored vessels, was stretched across the river to hold approaching vessels under the fire of the forts. Above, gunboats, rams, and fire rafts heaped with pitch-pine knots were ready to meet the foe.

In April, 1862, Commodore Farragut, with a fleet of seventeen

ships, approached the barrier to attempt the capture of New Orleans. The chain was broken, and on the night of April 23 the fleet approached the forts. Its passage was fiercely disputed, and the skies were red with the flash of guns and the glare of flames. With dawn the firing ceased, and the fleet, scarred and battered, passed up the river. The city could no longer be defended. Thousands of bales of cotton were stored there, but rather than let these fall into Union hands the people made all haste to burn them. General Butler, who with fifteen thousand soldiers had accompanied Farragut, now took command of the city, and the fleet passed on up the river to Vicksburg, where Farragut was presently joined by the river fleet from Memphis. Vicksburg, however, was too strongly fortified to be taken without a land force, and Farragut returned to New Orleans. In August Port Hudson, two hundred and fifty miles below Vicksburg, was fortified by a Confederate army; and the river between these two points remained for another year in Confederate hands, presenting a problem which the Union forces in the West found hard to solve.

Admiral Farragut

Farragut's capture of New Orleans was one of the last exploits of the old-fashioned wooden ships, made so famous in the War of 1812, for even before he had reached the Mississippi an event had occurred which changed naval warfare for all time.

As far back as 1812 plans for iron-covered or "ironclad" war ships had been discussed, and it happened that the first successful armored vessels were built within two or three years of the outbreak of the Civil War. None of these, however, was in the United States navy, and it was not until 1861 that contracts were made for the building of three ironclads for the United States.

As soon as war had begun, the Confederates set to work to provide a navy, and among the ships which they fitted up were several ironclad rams. These were made by cutting down the hulks of old wooden warships, and building a sort of iron roof over them, protecting the guns and men. One of these rams was made from the hull of the *Merrimac*, a Federal warship which had been sunk at the Norfolk navy yard to prevent its falling into Confederate hands. When the Confederates seized Norfolk they had raised the *Merrimac*, and made her over into an ironclad. Under the name of *Virginia*, she set out from Norfolk on her work of destruction.

On March 8, 1862, the *Merrimac* steamed from Norfolk into Hampton Roads, to destroy the blockading squadron and break the blockade. Several wooden frigates were there, and when the *Merrimac* appeared, ships and shore batteries opened their guns upon her. It had been generally known that the Confederates were building an ironclad, and it was seen at once that this strange-looking craft must be the armored ram. The course of the *Merrimac* was simple. Entirely ignoring the firing of the fleet, she proceeded to the *Cumberland*, and stove a hole in her side which soon sent her to the bottom. Next, selecting the *Congress* as a victim, the *Merrimac* soon put her out of action, the prey of devouring flames. The *Minnesota* lay next, but the tide was going and night approaching, so, fearing lest his ship should run aground, the commander of the *Merrimac* withdrew, returning the next morning to complete his task.

Strangely enough, however, one of the three ironclads built for the Union navy was completed just in time to take a hand in this unequal contest. When the *Merrimac* returned to attack the *Minnesota* in the morning, it was only to find the frigate guarded by a craft stranger in appearance than the *Merrimac* herself. The *Monitor*, as the new Union ironclad was called, showed above the water only a low platform close to the water's level, with a round tower in the middle, mounting two guns. The revolving

of this tower made it possible to fire the guns in any direction without waiting to turn the vessel, and was really a new idea in naval warfare.

The fight which followed destroyed neither vessel. Indeed, neither was at all seriously injured, although shot and shell fell furiously on both. But the *Merrimac* had no time to spare to carry out her designs against the *Minnesota*, and at length steamed

The Battle between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*

away; the Union fleet was saved, the blockade remained unbroken. And the day of wooden warships had forever passed.

Meantime the Army of the Potomac was still engaged in the attempt to take Richmond. After many months of drilling and getting ready, McClellan, with one hundred thousand The Peninsular Campaign men, had begun his advance toward the Confederate capital, going by way of Chesapeake Bay and the York peninsula, made famous in Revolutionary days. At Yorktown he found the Confederates with a fortified line across the peninsula. McClellan's force was three times that of the Confederates, but

instead of attacking them he began preparations for a siege. After a month, the Confederates quietly withdrew, and strengthened their fortifications nearer the city. McClellan, following, found the road to Richmond held by the main army of the Confederates, at first under General Joseph Johnston, and, after he was wounded, under General Robert E. Lee. Their force, meanwhile, was being steadily increased, and was now considerably larger than the Union force. This, of course, was a serious disadvantage to the Union army.

Lee
the
could
Jack
Linco

to defend the capital. Meantime McClellan's forces were encamped on both sides of the Chickahominy. When a sudden rise of the waters made crossing difficult, Johnston seized the opportunity to attack the division on the southern side at Fair Oaks, but the Union army successfully resisted attack. It was in this battle that Johnston was wounded. After Lee took command, the famous "Seven Days' Battles" were fought, in which McClellan lost fifteen thousand men, and Lee twenty thousand. In all but

The Peninsular Campaign

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Virginia Campaign, 1862-1865

one of these battles the Union army held the advantage. In the last, at Malvern Hill, McClellan is commonly believed to have thrown away an opportunity to crush Lee's army and capture Richmond. But he did not follow up his victory, and the next day, July 2, saw the end of the campaign, with little, if anything, accomplished.

Lee at once pushed northward, and in August, 1862, attacked a division of the Union army near the Bull Run battlefield. This

Second battle
of Bull Run,
August 30,
1862; Antietam
September 17,
1862

battle again brought victory to the South. Lee advanced farther, crossing into Maryland. When the Confederates entered the state, singing "Maryland, my Maryland," they expected to find a strong southern feeling there. Lee looked for sympathy, supplies, and recruits. But he met the coldest of receptions.

In Frederick he found stores closed and streets deserted.

McClellan met him at Sharpsburg, and here, near the northern bank of the Potomac, the great battle of Antietam was fought. This battle checked Lee's advance, though it did not destroy his army or prevent his withdrawal into Virginia. It is sometimes spoken of as a poor or barren victory for the

Antietam Bridge

The scene of fierce fighting during the early part of the battle.
Afterward known as "Burnside's Bridge."

Union forces, but it was worth much at that time of discouragement to gain any victory at all.

The President had been anxiously watching and hoping for a success in the field. We must not forget that while generals and soldiers struggled with military problems and campaign plans, no

less perplexing political questions occupied the government at Washington. We may leave the army for the present slowly preparing to follow Lee, who was once more on Virginia soil.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The United States government hastened to plan and carry out an effective blockade of Southern ports.

2. An expedition to take New Orleans, the most important port of the South, was undertaken in April, 1862. Commodore Farragut, who commanded this, was entirely successful.

3. A famous battle, between ironclad warships, was fought in March, 1862. This new kind of war vessel has come in our day to be the only kind in use.

4. The Army of the Potomac, in the spring of 1862, undertook the Peninsular Campaign against Richmond. This was a failure. In August General Lee advanced into Maryland. There his advance was checked at Antietam, the first Union victory in the East.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Four American Naval Heroes," Beebe, pp. 3-10, 133-192.
2. "Our Country in Poem and Prose," Persons, pp. 135-148.
3. "Southern Soldier Stories," Eggleston.
4. "Civil War Stories Retold from St. Nicholas."
5. The Romance of the Civil War, "Source Reader No. 4," Hart, pp. 347-358.
6. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 669-688.

THINGS TO DO

1. Questions for brief oral or written answers:—
 - (1) Why was the blockade important to the success of the North? Why was the capture of New Orleans important?
 - (2) Why was the battle between the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor* important? In what way do the present-day ironclads resemble these of 1862? What disadvantages did each of these ships possess which have now been overcome?
2. Review McClellan's career up to the time of Antietam. What do you consider his prominent qualities as a general?
3. Ask your teacher to tell you how the Confederate General Jackson became known as "Stonewall" Jackson.

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FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Place on your chronological chart the taking of New Orleans, the battle between the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*, the Peninsular Campaign, the battle of Antietam. Give dates.

2. The *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*.

(Write a brief description of each vessel, and of the battle.)

XX

EMANCIPATION

At the time when Lincoln's anxious watching for a victory was at least partially rewarded by Antietam, the united feeling which had for a time followed the first firing on the flag no longer prevailed. The first great enthusiasm had passed, and there was an increasing amount of criticism of the war and the President. The abolitionists, as of old, clamored for the freeing of the slave, and were dissatisfied because Lincoln took no steps in this direction. Extreme conservatives, on the other hand, believed that the war should not in the least affect the slavery question. The war was to preserve the Union It was a war for the Union, which, if it succeeded, must restore the Union exactly as it was when the war began. Congress had in July, 1861, passed a resolution declaring that the war was not waged to overthrow or interfere with the rights or established institutions of the Southern states, but to maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and to preserve the Union.

And yet it was a fact that could not be disputed, that slavery was helping the South in the war. President Lincoln thought long and anxiously about it. Freeing the slaves, he believed, would help the North in the war by taking away from the Southern people the help the slaves were giving on plantation and in camp. It ought, too, to have a good effect on the attitude toward America shown by foreign governments. Slavery was not thought well of in England and France. But Lincoln did not believe that Congress had the right to abolish slavery throughout the country except by an amendment to the Constitution; nor, of course, had he any such right.

The President, however, is the head of the army, and he believed that he did have the right, as a "war measure," to declare free the slaves in the seceded states, and this he determined to do. But, knowing that even this would arouse opposition in the

border states, which, while loyal to the Union, still hoped that slavery might be preserved, he waited until the war had been in progress more than a year. By that time people in the loyal states came to see that, if the war were to succeed, no means must be left untried to overcome

the South. Then President Lincoln prepared an Emancipation Proclamation, which, on September 23, after the victory at Antietam, he made public.

The Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863

Confederate Battle Flag
The "Stars and Bars" had the same arrangement of stars, with the rest of the flag made up of three broad horizontal stripes, two red and one white.

This proclamation declared that on January 1st of the following year, all persons

held as slaves in states then in rebellion against the government of the United States should be free. When the new year arrived, the slaves were formally declared free, and in the parts of the South where Union armies were in possession many of the negroes placed themselves under the protection of the Northern soldiers. Indeed, as the war went on regiments of colored soldiers were formed in the Union army, until one hundred thousand of them were enrolled. But, in general, the slaves were not so ready to leave their masters as many had expected. They went on caring for the plantations, or performing the labor of the Southern camps.

Perhaps the greatest effect of the proclamation was in disclosing the real question in dispute between the North and the South. It revealed to the world that the purpose of the North was no longer merely to save the Union, but also to make it, if it should be saved, a Union in which freedom should be the blessing of all

men, black or white. The real cause of the war was slavery, and lasting peace could come only by the removal of this cause.

But the war was not yet won. The Union was not yet saved, and the declaration of freedom for the slaves meant little unless the armies in the field could enforce what the President had declared. The outlook there, however, was not encouraging.

Capture of Roanoke Island, February 7, 1862
From an engraving published during the war.

In the East, Lee's army seemed unconquerable, and the Union soldiers were as far as ever from Richmond. Antietam, a doubtful victory, was followed in December, 1862, by Fredericksburg, a crushing defeat. The new year, indeed, saw a Confederate advance into Kentucky checked at Murfreesboro, but it was a battle which cost thousands of lives. There had been successes in the Mississippi Valley, but the river was not yet open, since Vicksburg and Port Hudson still defied attack. Many more

soldiers were needed, and by this time there were few, if any, volunteers. Criticisms of the President and the army were growing more numerous and stinging. Among Democrats it was now common to hear the statement that the war was a failure. A Democratic congressman from Ohio said in the House of Representatives on January 4, 1863: "You have not conquered the South. You never will. The war for the Union is, in your hands, a most bloody and costly failure."

Foreign affairs, too, were still discouraging. Although England had not as yet withdrawn her declaration of neutrality, there were still fears that she might do so; and the United States felt that she had reason to complain of the English government for allowing several ironclad warships to be built and fitted out at Liverpool for the Confederates. The most famous of these, the *Alabama*, was doing great damage to Northern merchant-ships, and there was intense feeling in the North against England.

An unfortunate occurrence during the first year of the war had already strained relations between the United States and England. In the autumn of 1861 the Confederate President sent two men, James Mason of Virginia and John Slidell of Louisiana, to further the interests of the South in England and France. After escaping from Charleston in a blockade runner, they proceeded to Havana, where they embarked for England on the British mail steamer *Trent*. The captain of an American warship, learning of their presence on the *Trent*, stopped her and forcibly made Mason and Slidell his prisoners. The capture was hailed with great rejoicing in the North, and it was only when the British ministry immediately demanded reparation that the act was viewed in its relation to England. Lincoln, however, had seen at once that trouble was likely to ensue. "We fought Great Britain for insisting . . . on the right to do precisely what Captain Wilkes has done," he said. And now it began to seem as though we should fight Great Britain again. The

British government began preparing for war. But the United States could not at this time enter upon another war. The prisoners were given up, and due apologies made.

As the year 1863 opened, no new plans were formed. The old problems remained. The blockade must be strengthened, the Mississippi must be opened, Richmond must be taken, and Lee's

The Confederacy, Close of 1862
Compare with map on page 397.

army crushed. It was one of the good fortunes of the Confederacy to have found its great commanders early in the war. The Union armies, however, were not so fortunate. In the first half of the war the Army of the Potomac changed leaders again and again, but none of the changes brought to light the great general Lincoln was always hoping to find. McClellan, who had already been removed and reinstated, was, after he failed to

follow up his advantage over Lee at Antietam, removed once more; and his successor, General Burnside, following Lee, suffered the crushing defeat at Fredericksburg which we have already mentioned. General Hooker, appointed to follow Burnside, again attacked Lee at Chancellorsville, only a few miles from Fredericksburg. Here, again, Lee was entirely successful, and discouragement at the North was greater than ever; while the South in the midst of rejoicing mourned the loss of General Jackson, which was a great blow to the Southern cause.

Lee now once more crossed the Potomac, making his second attempt to carry the war into the North. By the end of June, 1863, he was on the soil of Pennsylvania with seventy-five thousand men ready to give battle. The Army of the Potomac, which numbered one hundred thousand, was now placed under the command of General Meade. On the first day of July the two armies met at Gettysburg, where followed a terrible three days' battle. It is scarcely possible to pass over that fight without some attempt to picture it, the greatest battle the New World ever saw.

Two ridges separated by a valley not quite a mile wide formed the scene of the battle. In the valley were orchards and wheat fields. The first day fighting was begun on Seminary Ridge, west of the valley. The Confederates drove the Union forces back through the valley up to Cemetery Hill, on the east of the town. There General Meade resolved to await attack on the second day.

Throughout the war the offensive had fallen in most cases to the Union army, while the Confederates had had all the advantages of familiar country, strong positions, and defensive fighting. Now the conditions were to be reversed. During the morning of the second day Meade made his position as secure as he could, bringing to the front all his men, while Lee gathered his army for the attack. In the afternoon this came.

Lee's plan was to attack at both ends of Meade's line, and

there was fierce fighting in both places. Thousands of men fell, to fight no more. But though Lee gained some slight advantage, Meade still held the hill. At midnight Meade called his generals into council, "a group dust-covered and sweat-stained, the strong faces strangely earnest. Some sat on the bed; some stood;

Scene at the Battle of Gettysburg

Warren, wounded, stretched out on the floor, was overcome by sleep." All voted "to stay and fight it out."

Lee, meanwhile, was resolving to follow his partial successes by a third day of fighting. Meade's prophecy to his generals was, "To-day he has struck the flanks; next it will be the center"; and everything was prepared to meet the charge. Early dawn saw fighting at the northern end of the line, for possession of Culp's Hill. This, however, was succeeded by a strange quiet

as the armies rested and awaited the struggle. The hot sun beat down on the blood-stained valley and the field of trampled wheat where so many had already given up their lives.

At one o'clock the Confederates opened fire with their cannon, and for an hour and a half gun answered gun across the narrow valley, echoing from the hills and filling the air with smoke.



Engaged { About 22,000 Union troops
 { About 18,000 Confederate troops
 Lost { Confederate about 20,000
 { Union about 22,000

This is said to be the heaviest cannonading ever known on the American continent. "The whole crest of the hill was a line of fire," says one writer; "the hills shook to their foundations." At length the firing ceased. The smoke began to clear away. Then came the expected attack on the Union center, "Pickett's charge," which will be famous forever among the stories of brave deeds. The story of Gettysburg reaches its climax as we see Pickett's brave men march coolly out across the valley, in full sight of the

enemy. Not a man of the fifteen thousand flinched from the almost certain death which awaited him. "They came forward steadily, in perfect order, with banners flying. Those who looked on might have thought it a Fourth of July parade." Pickett, at the head of his troops, "rode gracefully," writes Longstreet, who watched the scene, "with his jaunty cap raked well over his right ear. He seemed a holiday soldier." The Union cannon were turned upon them, and the guns began their deadly fire. Still Pickett's men pressed on. The Union infantry now opened fire. The ranks began to thin, but they closed up and went on faster

and faster. They approached the hill, rushed up to the Federal lines and into the midst of the enemy. There, with Union soldiers swarming around them on every side, they fought desperately, courageously, wonderfully, but no soldiers could win against such odds. At last the broken remnant of Pickett's men was ordered

Battlefield of Gettysburg, looking South from Round Top

back. The gallant charge had been in vain, the fight was lost. Lee's army, so long victorious, had at last suffered defeat.

This was a great moment for the North. "Now," wrote Lincoln, "if General Meade can complete his work, so gloriously prosecuted thus far, by the literal or substantial destruction of Lee's army, the rebellion will be over." But this Meade failed to do. Lee took his own time to retreat from Gettysburg, and, without being disturbed by Meade, crossed the Potomac into

Virginia. Lincoln was greatly disappointed. "Our army held the war in the hollow of their hand, and they would not close it," he said. Yet he appreciated, as we must do, the value of what Meade did do at Gettysburg. And since it happened that the 4th of July saw in the West the successful end of Grant's long campaign against Vicksburg, and the opening of the Mississippi, this time may be truly called the turning point of the war.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. There was a growing feeling of division in the North in regard to the war.
2. As a war measure President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, to take effect January 1, 1863. This proclamation declared the slaves free in states then in rebellion against the government.
3. Failure on the battlefield and worry over foreign affairs combined to cause discouragement at the North.
4. In the summer of 1863 Lee made his second advance into the North. Again he was checked, in a terrible battle at Gettysburg. This victory for the North, together with Grant's capture of Vicksburg, which was completed the same day, marked the turning point of the war.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Our Country in Poem and Prose," Persons, pp. 148-168.
2. A Drummer Boy at Gettysburg, in "Civil War Stories Retold from St. Nicholas."
3. "Source Reader No. 4," Hart, pp. 321-327.
4. "Source Book," Hart, pp. 315-318, 327-329.
5. "Side Lights on American History," Elson, Part II, Chapter V.
6. "The Battle of Gettysburg," Schurz, McClure's Magazine, July, 1907

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the exact meaning of *conservatives*, *reinstated*, *infantry*.
2. Get all the information you can about the *Alabama*: its building; trouble over its leaving port; the damage it did to Northern commerce; what became of it; the "*Alabama* claims."
3. Look up in the encyclopedia the main points in the career of General Meade.

4. Discuss in class:—

(1) Why was Lincoln careful to make the Emancipation Proclamation declare freedom for only those slaves who were in seceded states?

(2) What ground had dissatisfied Northerners for objecting to Lincoln's action? Were these objections justified?

5. Read or ask your teacher to tell you the story of "Stonewall" Jackson's death at Chancellorsville.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

Abraham Lincoln as President

(Portrait)

From his first inaugural:—

"I hold that in contemplation of universal law, and of the Constitution, the union of these states is perpetual."

From the Gettysburg speech:—

"That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain — that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

From his second inaugural:—

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

XXI

GRANT AT VICKSBURG, CHATTANOOGA, AND IN THE EAST

THE capture of Vicksburg was accomplished only after seven months of hard work. The attempt would probably have been abandoned long before this time had elapsed, had it not been imperative to open the Mississippi and to cut off the eastern valley states of the Confederacy from the West. The position of

**Campaign
before Vicks-
burg, Novem-
ber 1862-July,
1863** Vicksburg, on a high bluff overlooking the Missis-
sippi, made it impossible to take it from the river
side, while its fortifications looking toward the east
were so strong as apparently to defy attack. For

months Grant worked at the problem. Attack from
the north was attempted, and it failed. Attack from the south
was considered impossible, since the Union army, if it landed on
the eastern bank of the Mississippi below Vicksburg, would be
cut off from receiving supplies. Yet this is what Grant finally
decided to do.

The campaign that followed was a remarkable one. In nineteen days from the time Grant crossed the river, he marched one hundred miles, with constant skirmishing, and won five distinct battles, taking the capital of the state, and destroying its arsenal, its military stores and factories. To do this he had been obliged to cut off communication with his base of supplies — a dangerous proceeding, but in this case quite successful.

Grant was now in the rear of Vicksburg, the Confederate forces having retired within the fortifications. A close siege was maintained by the Union army. "We are now approaching with pick and shovel," wrote General Sherman, Grant's efficient aid. "In

the meantime we are daily pouring into the city a perfect storm of shot and shells." From time to time assaults were made, but it was starvation which forced the surrender, six weeks after the siege began. The suffering of soldiers and townspeople had become intense. Women and children sought safety in caves. The soldiers grew daily weaker for lack of food. No help could reach them from without, and July 4th, Vicksburg fell, about thirty thousand Confederate soldiers being made prisoners. Five days later Port Hudson was surrendered. On July 16th a merchant steamer from St. Louis reached a wharf at New Orleans. The Mississippi was open. The Confederacy was cut in two. Western supplies could no longer be brought to the Gulf states. These states were now shut in on every side, and for the first time the cause of the Union looked bright.

After the fall of Vicksburg, Grant, who was now recognized as an able general, was placed in command of all the armies west of the Alleghenies. He went at once to eastern Tennessee, where Union and Confederate armies were contending for the possession of Chattanooga. Ever since the early Union successes in Kentucky had driven the Confederates back from that state and Tennessee, they had been eager to regain their lost foothold. Their army, under Bragg, had met the Union forces under Rosecrans at Murfreesboro on the last day of 1862, and had been driven back. The strongest position in the West held by the Confederates after

The Lower Mississippi, showing the Campaign around Vicksburg

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General Jackson

General Longstreet

General Lee

General J. E. Johnston

General A. S. Johnston

A GROUP OF CONFEDERATE COMMANDERS

GRANT AT VICKSBURG AND CHATTANOOGA 425

General Sherman

General Sheridan

General Grant

General Meade

General Thomas

General Hooker

A GROUP OF UNION COMMANDERS

they lost Vicksburg was Chattanooga, an important railroad center, and gateway to eastern Tennessee and Georgia.

Rosecrans now attempted to dislodge Bragg from this position. By threatening his line of supplies, Rosecrans compelled Bragg to withdraw several miles from Chattanooga. The battle of Chickamauga followed, in which the Union army was saved from disastrous defeat only by the steadfast bravery of General Thomas,

Lookout Mountain

afterward known as the "Rock of Chickamauga." His cool courage made it possible for the Union army to reach safety in Chattanooga, where they were now besieged by the Confederates, who fortified Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, near-by heights overlooking the Union camp. After a month's siege, it was feared that lack of supplies would force them to surrender.

Under Grant's direction, however, and with the assistance of more soldiers from the West and from the Army of the Potomac,

Chattanooga was held and the Confederates driven from Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. The fighting at Chattanooga showed the Union army at its best. Here, for the only time, Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and Thomas gave battle together. Veterans from Vicksburg, from Gettysburg, from Chickamauga, made the bold assault. Hooker's men fought their way

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Confederacy. Close of 1863

Compare with the Confederacy at the close of 1862. Notice how the Confederacy is cut in two.

to the top of Lookout, where occurred the far-famed "Battle above the Clouds." The charge of Thomas's men up the almost perpendicular side of Missionary Ridge has been called "the grandest spectacle of the war." When night fell upon the conflict, Bragg fled southward into Georgia.

The end of 1863 came. The year had been an eventful one, and yet the Confederacy was not crushed. Lee's army, though

defeated at Gettysburg, was still in the field. All eyes were turned toward Grant as the man best fitted to undertake the problem of conquering Lee. He was accordingly made commander in chief of all the armies, his place in the West being taken by his trusted friend, William T. Sherman, who had had a part, and a worthy one, in all of Grant's achievements.

Grant took command in March, 1864, and began his "hammering campaign" against Lee. The Confederacy was by this time in a critical condition. There were few men left in the South

who were not in the army, and thus soldiers lost in battle could not be replaced. The blockade was now almost perfect, and since the Mississippi had fallen into Union hands, the South was more than ever cut off from the outside world. Her people were making

The Draft

every sacrifice for the soldiers, and yet the soldiers were ragged and hungry. The Northern army, on the other hand, was well taken care of, and although there was little volunteering now and drafting met with some opposition, still the ranks were filled, and thus in numbers as well as equipment the Union army had the advantage.

In the spring of 1864 Grant set the face of his army toward Richmond, and for two months he "hammered" at Lee. Day after day of fighting would be succeeded not by retreat or rest, but by a change of position and more fighting. In the Wilderness, at Spottsylvania, at Cold Harbor, thousands upon thousands of brave men laid down their lives. But Grant was not beaten,

"for he did not know how to be beaten," and the "hammering" went on. Petersburg was attacked, again with great loss; and when it became evident that it could not be taken by assault, a siege was begun. Up to this time Grant had lost about sixty thousand men. He has been greatly criticised for this campaign before Richmond, especially for the attack at Cold Harbor, in which he lost twelve thousand men in a single half hour. Yet we must admit that, reckless as he seemed of the lives of his soldiers, and though little seemed to be accomplished by their terrific assaults, he was slowly wearing Lee's army out.

Grant's
"hammering
campaign"
before Rich-
mond began
May, 1864

George Cary Eggleston, a well-known writer and a Confederate soldier during the war, has said: "But by the time that we [Lee's army] reached Cold Harbor, we had begun to understand what our new adversary meant, and there for the first time, I think, the men in the ranks of the Army of

Libby Prison, Richmond

In which many Union soldiers were confined. Accusations of cruelty and neglect were made against keepers of both Union and Confederate prisons. Many prisoners suffered horribly.

Northern Virginia realized that the era of experimental campaigns against us was over; that Grant was not going to retreat; that he was not to be removed from command because he had failed to break Lee's resistance; and that the policy of pounding had begun, and would continue until our strength should be utterly worn away. . . . We began to understand that Grant had taken hold of the problem of destroying the Confederate strength in the only way that the strength of such an army, so commanded, could be destroyed, and that he intended to continue

the plodding work until the task should be accomplished, wasting very little time or strength in efforts to make a brilliant display of generalship. . . . We at last began to understand what Grant meant by his expression of a determination to 'fight it out on this line if it took all summer.' "

It was after Grant had settled down to the siege of Petersburg that the Confederate general Early was sent by Lee into the Shenandoah Valley. Here he was able to threaten Washington, advancing close to the city and greatly alarming the people. Washington was very imperfectly guarded, and there was great danger of its capture. Timely reënforcements prevented this misfortune to the Union cause, and Early passed on across Maryland and into Pennsylvania, where he burned Chambersburg and carried off cattle and supplies. Early's triumphs, however, were short-lived. On August 1 General Sheridan was placed in command of the Union forces in the Shenandoah, and in the middle of September he won two decided victories over the Confederate forces; after which he went up and down the valley destroying barns and grain, driving off cattle, — indeed, doing everything in his power to carry out his instructions that "nothing should be left to invite the enemy to return."

In the middle of October Early had so far recovered from the defeats Sheridan had inflicted upon him as to be again in fighting trim; and before daybreak on the 19th he succeeded in surprising the Union camp. Sheridan himself was absent, being at Winchester, about fifteen miles away. He started leisurely on his return after breakfast. Soon, however, sounds of battle reached him, and as he hurried on he met fugitives from the field. Putting his horse to a gallop, he tried to stem the tide of retreat into which he soon rode. That he was successful in this shows how much a commander may accomplish on the battlefield by personal bravery and magnetism. Waving his hat, and shouting

assurances, — “We’ll sleep in our old camp to-night, boys! — Face the other way! We’re going back! — We’re going to lick them out of their boots!” — he dashed along, and by the sheer force of his enthusiasm the men were rallied, turned, and followed him back, where the day was yet won and the Confederate army badly defeated.

This really ended the Confederate hope of holding the valley, but it was not until March that the last of the fighting there took place.

By that time Sheridan had swept the valley so bare that “a crow flying across would need to carry his rations with him.”

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. After a long campaign, Grant captured Vicksburg, July 4, 1863. This completed the opening of the Mississippi.

2. Grant was placed in command of all the Western armies. Success in eastern Tennessee followed, and early in 1864 Grant was made commander in chief of all the armies of the United States.

3. In the spring following his appointment Grant took active command of the campaign against Richmond. For two months he fought hard and steadily, winning no victories, and with great loss to his army. The Union army, however, could bear these losses better than the Confederates could bear theirs. Lee’s army was growing smaller and weaker, and no new recruits were to be had.

4. Grant finally settled down to a siege of Petersburg.

5. Sheridan defeated General Early in the Shenandoah Valley and swept the valley bare of supplies.

THINGS TO READ

1. “Sheridan’s Ride,” Read.

2. “Ulysses S. Grant” (Riverside Biographical Series), Allen, pp. 65-103.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the exact meaning of *arsenal*, *base of supplies*, *drafting*, *assault*.

2. Discuss in class Grant’s campaign against Vicksburg: What were his difficulties? Why was his final victory so highly praised? What do you

think would have been said of Grant if he had not reached final success in the campaign?

3. Review Grant's career up to this time. What good qualities had he shown as a general?

4. Compare the strength of the North and the South at this time: their armies in number and equipment, their wealth, their commerce, their industrial independence of other countries. How had conditions in the South changed since the early part of the war? Had they changed equally in the North?

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Ulysses S. Grant.

(Portrait)

Grant was a native of ——. He was educated at —— and took part in the —— War after he reached manhood. He then led an obscure and not very successful life until the outbreak of the Civil War. His first service after war came was ——. He then became —— and was stationed under General —— in the Middle West. His first claim to fame was his taking of —— and ——. The battle of —— did not add to his reputation, but his campaign against —— showed him to be a strong commander. He was given command of —— —— and won success at ——. He was then appointed —— in March, 1864.

2. Philip Sheridan.

(Portrait)

"He dashed down the line, mid a storm of huzzas,
And the wave of retreat checked its course there, because
The sight of the master compelled it to pause.

* * * * *

"Here is the steed that saved the day
By carrying Sheridan into the fight,
From Winchester, twenty miles away."

— THOMAS BUCHANAN READ.

3. Place on your chronological chart, with dates, all engagements mentioned in text since Antietam.

XXII

THE END OF THE WAR

DURING the months that were occupied by the operations in the Shenandoah of which we have just read, General Sherman was doing important work farther south.

On the same day in May, 1864, upon which Grant took up his march toward Richmond, Sherman, with one hundred thousand men, started from Chattanooga in the direction of Atlanta, which was guarded at Dalton by General Joseph E. Johnston with sixty-five thousand Confederate soldiers.

Sherman's
campaign
before Atlanta,
May-September,
1864

"It was generally understood by the public that Sherman's grand object in this campaign was the capture of Atlanta, the principal city of Georgia between the mountains and the seacoast," says John Fiske, "but Grant and Sherman well knew that a far more important object was the destruction or capture of Johnston's army, and this was likely to be no light task."

For two months Sherman closely followed Johnston, who fought and fell back again and again, always skillfully and always occupying a strong position. The opportunity to destroy his army which Sherman watched for never came. At last Sherman was in sight of Atlanta, and Johnston, secure behind his fortifications, made ready to come out and attack him.

But the Confederate government, unable to see the wisdom with which Johnston had conducted the campaign, removed him from his command in favor of Hood, a "fighting general." It was expected that Hood would "fight vigorously," which he did with more valor than discretion, the result being three important

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battles and many smaller engagements, Hood finally giving up the city, which Sherman entered September 2.

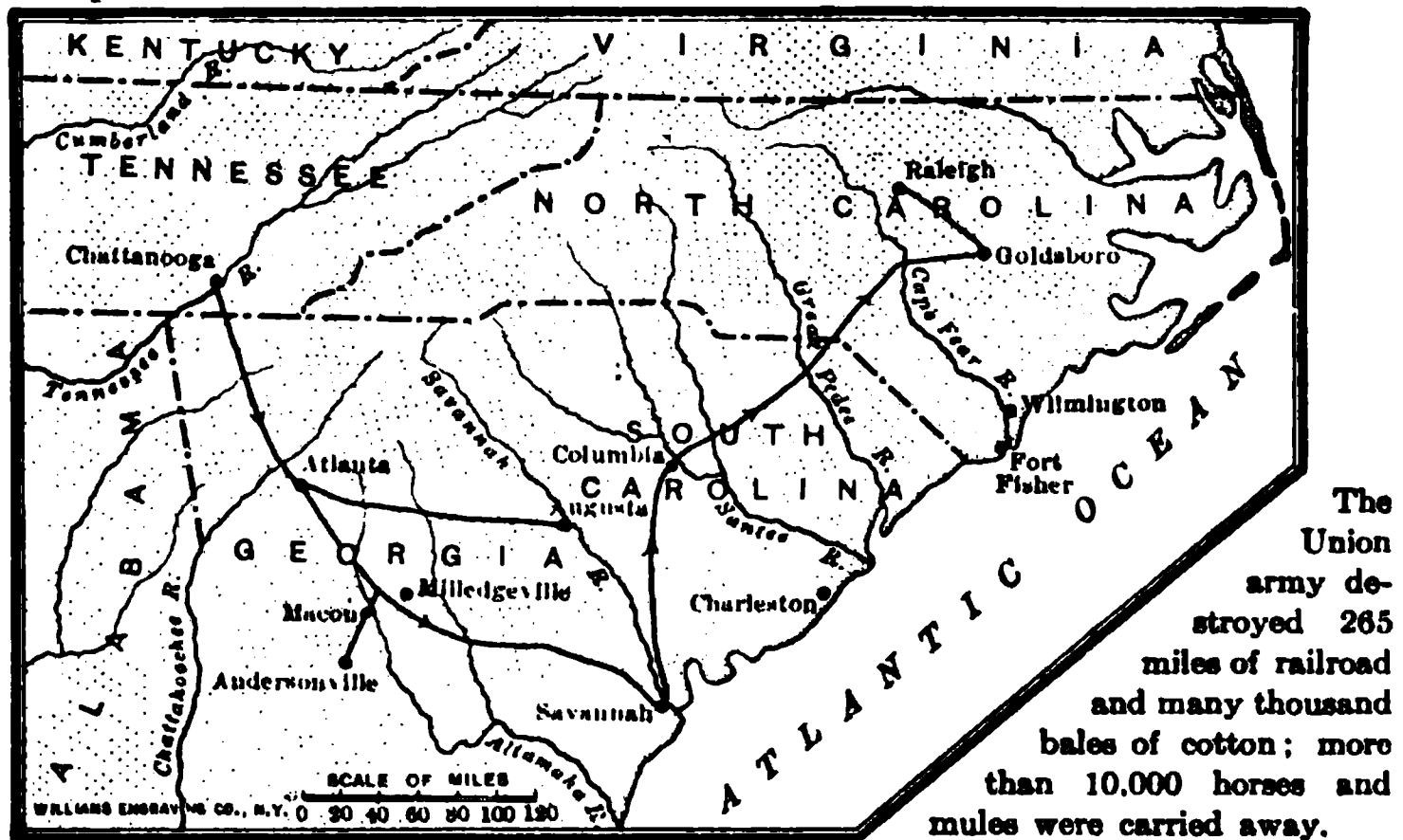
The possession of Atlanta, however, was not enough. Hood's army must be captured or destroyed. So when Hood turned

Confederate Money

northward, Sherman followed. Soon, however, he decided to leave part of his army under General Thomas to undertake Hood's destruction, and himself turned back to Atlanta. After destroying the shops and factories which had made Atlanta of so much aid to the Confederacy, he started to carry out a plan he had long cherished. This was no less than the cutting in two of what remained of the Confederacy. This he accomplished by his famous march "from Atlanta to the sea." Spreading his army out to cover territory nearly sixty miles wide, he marched to Savannah, living on the country, and carrying off or destroying all things which would "aid or comfort" the enemy.

Sherman's
march to the
sea, November
16-December
20, 1864

This march of Sherman's was a great blow to the Southern cause; and the joy of the North when the news of his arrival in Savannah came was doubly great, since more than a month had elapsed after the army left Atlanta before any news of it was



Sherman's March

received. Three days before Christmas President Lincoln received the following telegram: —

"I beg to present to you as a Christmas gift the city of Savannah, with 150 heavy guns and plenty of ammunition, also about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton." — W. T. SHERMAN, MAJOR GENERAL.

While Sherman was triumphantly marching across Georgia, Thomas was facing Hood in Tennessee. On the last day of November, Hood attacked part of Thomas's army at Franklin, but gained nothing in the battle. Thomas then completed the work already begun of gathering his troops together at Nashville, Hood following and laying siege to the city.

Thomas won a great victory at Nashville, December 15, 1864

On the 15th of December Thomas made an attack, and

succeeded not only in defeating Hood but in scattering his army. The fighting in the West was now practically completed, and Sherman was left free to join Grant, who had all this time, as Fiske expresses it, been "detaining Lee at Petersburg until the whole of the Confederacy should be knocked away from behind him, leaving him in the air without a prop."

Admiral Farragut had his share in this knocking-away process. With his ships he boldly entered Mobile Bay, by this time the only port from which blockade runners could ply their trade; overcoming the Confederate fleet, capturing the forts, and thus sealing up the last opening in the blockade. The battle of Mobile Bay shows us the gallant admiral in the greatest fight of his life. The bay was guarded by forts, by a small fleet, — which, however, included the *Tennessee*, a ram larger and more formidable

Farragut
closed Mobile
Bay to block-
ade runners,
August, 1864

than the *Merrimac*, — and by submarine torpedoes, then little known and much dreaded. The *Hartford*, the admiral's flagship, was in the thickest of the fight; and throughout the battle Farragut remained high in the rigging to get a view above the battle smoke. There he was lashed to the shrouds

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The Blockade of the Southern Coast

this time, however, the *Tennessee* was disabled, and the worst part of the fighting done.

The end of 1864 saw the Confederacy nearing the end of her resources. The territory in Confederate hands was now less than half that under their control at the beginning of the war, and what they still held had been cut in two by Sherman's march to the sea. The blockade was now practically perfect, and it grew more and more difficult to provide supplies for the army. Lee's

soldiers were slowly but steadily decreasing in numbers, through death, sickness, and even desertion. For the South had reached the point of profound discouragement. Yet the leaders were not ready to give up, and the spring of 1865 found the war still going on.

We must not think of Grant's army as lying entirely inactive through all the long months he had been before Petersburg.

The Confederacy at the Close of 1864

Notice how once more the Confederate territory is cut in two.

Slowly but surely he had been wearing away Lee's strength. As far back as July, 1864, Grant had said to the President: "I am as far off from Richmond now as I shall ever be. I shall take the place; but, as the rebel papers say, it may require a long summer's day."

Now that day was wearing to a close. Sheridan had returned

from the valley to strengthen Grant, and Sherman had marched up from Georgia through the Carolinas, destroying crops and at last cutting off completely Lee's communication with these states. Starvation stared Lee's army in the face. The line occupied by Grant's one hundred and twenty thousand men was now extended until it is said that Lee, with only fifty thousand soldiers, had to spread them out so that he had less than a thousand men to a mile. There was some sharp fighting, and on April 1 Sheridan succeeded in breaking through the line at Five Forks.

The last days
of Grant's
campaign be-
fore Richmond

Lee felt that he could no longer hold Petersburg, and giving up that place meant also giving up the capital. The Union lines, however, did not shut Lee in on every side, and no thought of surrender was in his mind. To escape through the opening between the James and Appomattox rivers, and join Johnston, who had been replaced as commander of the remnant of Hood's army, was his plan. Then as a last resort they might place themselves in the Virginia mountains. Here, as Lee said, they might defy the Union armies "for twenty years."

Lee's attempt
to escape,
April 2, 1865

On the night of April 2, Lee withdrew from Richmond and Petersburg, Union soldiers taking possession the next morning. Grant, however, did not stop to enter the city, but hurried after Lee. The closing scenes of the war were at hand. In less than a week Grant had the Confederate army completely hemmed in. Ragged, hungry, foot-sore, but yet unconquered in spirit, Lee's men made their stand. Lee took his last chance and ordered an attempt to break through the Union front. But the way was blocked by a far greater force than could be overcome. There was nothing possible but surrender, and Lee bowed sadly to his fate. His interview with Grant took place in the little village of Appomattox Court House. Grant, describing the meeting, says: "My own feelings, which had been quite jubilant on the receipt of Lee's letter, were

Lee's surren-
der, April 9,
1865

sad and depressed. I felt like anything rather than rejoicing at the downfall of a foe who had fought so long and so valiantly." The terms of surrender were generous in the extreme, and Lee accepted them with gratitude for his men. Returning sorrowfully to his soldiers, he bade them farewell. "We have fought through the war together," he said; "I have done the best I could for you.

The Confederacy, April 1, 1865

My heart is too full to say more." The next day the army disbanded and the men returned to their homes.

This surrender was not really the end of the war, since there were other Confederate forces in the field. But Lee's army had been the center of resistance, and its fall was soon followed by the surrender of Johnston to Sherman, April 26. On the 4th of May all troops remaining east of the Mississippi were surrendered, and on the 26th of the same month the soldiers west of the Missis-

issippi. The war was now over. The Confederacy had perished; the death blow to slavery had been struck.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. During the summer of 1864 General Sherman conducted a campaign against Johnston in the neighborhood of Atlanta. Sherman captured Atlanta, and from that point started on his famous march to the sea, reaching Savannah before Christmas. The march cut in two the territory which now remained in Confederate hands.

2. Meanwhile General Thomas had succeeded in defeating the army of General Hood, who had been appointed in Johnston's place. This ended the fighting in the West.

3. Admiral Farragut closed Mobile to the blockade runners, making the blockade practically perfect.

4. Sherman and Sheridan were now free to join Grant before Petersburg. Grant's line was extended until Lee's men were obliged to cover many miles of territory. Sheridan broke through the line, and Lee was obliged to give up Petersburg and Richmond.

5. Lee attempted to escape through the valley between the Appomattox and the James, but Grant overtook him and, hemming him in, forced his surrender. This practically closed the war. There was no more fighting.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Robert E. Lee," Trent (Beacon Biographies).

2. Surrender of Lee, in "Source Book of American History," Hart, pp. 329-333.

3. "Abraham Lincoln," Moores, pp. 100-122.

4. "Abraham Lincoln," Hapgood, pp. 375-398.

5. "Reminiscences of Peace and War," Pryor, pp. 319-337, 354-360.

THINGS TO DO

1. Review the war by years, using the maps.

2. Review the war by battles, naming the important engagements in their order, telling which side won in each case.

3. Make a list of the generals on each side. With what especial work do you associate each?

4. Place the events from the capture of Vicksburg to the surrender at Appomattox in their proper columns on your chronological chart. Give dates.

5. Find out about the capture of Jefferson Davis, his imprisonment, and his subsequent life.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. William Tecumseh Sherman.

(Portrait)

2. Ulysses S. Grant.

II

(As Commander in Chief)

"I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."

"I shall take the place; but as the rebel papers say, it may require a long summer's day."

"Grant — always homely and unimpressive . . . informal to the point of negligence about all details of dress and manner, yet withal simple, intrepid, honest, with an eye single to the great purpose he had adopted."

— J. K. HosMER, in "The Outcome of the Civil War."

3. Robert E. Lee.

(Portrait)

"The chosen hero of the Southern people."

OUTLINE

VII. Secession and Civil War, 1860–1865.

A. Secession and attempts at conciliation.

1. South Carolina secedes, December, 1860.

2. The Crittenden Compromise } both failed.
The Peace Convention

3. Secession of six more states by February, 1861.

4. Formation of the Confederacy, February 8, 1861.

5. Seizure of Southern forts belonging to United States by Confederates; no resistance except at Fort Sumter.

6. The Southern argument for secession; the Northern position.

7. The inauguration of Lincoln.

8. Relief sent to Fort Sumter; fall of the fort; war begun.

B. The Civil War (April 14, 1861–April 9, 1865).

1. Conditions in North and South; preparations for war.

2. Union plan of war.
 - a. Defense of Washington and capture of Richmond.
 - b. Blockade of Southern ports.
 - c. The opening of the Mississippi.
3. First year of the war (April, 1861–April, 1862).
 - a. The Army of the Potomac; Bull Run; McClellan made commander; drill, but no fighting.
 - b. In the West: Forts Henry and Donelson; first break in Confederate line; Shiloh; Kentucky and most of Tennessee reclaimed to the Union.
 - c. On the sea: blockade; *Merrimac* and *Monitor*; capture of New Orleans.
4. Second year, (April, 1862–April, 1863).
 - a. The Army of the Potomac; the Peninsular Campaign; second battle of Bull Run; Antietam.
 - b. The Emancipation Proclamation.
 - c. On the sea: the *Alabama*; blockade strengthened.
5. Third year (April, 1863–1864).
 - a. The Army of the Potomac: Fredericksburg; Chancellorsville; Gettysburg.
 - b. In the West: Grant's campaign before Vicksburg; the Mississippi opened; Chickamauga; Lookout Mountain; Missionary Ridge.
 - c. Grant made commander in chief, March, 1864.
6. Last year (April, 1864–April, 1865).
 - a. The Army of the Potomac: the "hammering campaign" against Richmond; battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, and Cold Harbor; siege of Petersburg.
 - b. Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley.
 - c. Sherman in the South: Atlanta captured; the march to the sea.
 - d. Thomas at Nashville.
 - e. Farragut in Mobile Bay.
 - f. Closing in of the Union forces around Lee; his surrender; the war ended.

XXIII

THE COST OF THE WAR

THE final success of the Union armies in the Civil War brought great and lasting benefits to the country. But the good was gained at an immense cost to both North and South. It would be impossible to estimate in figures the entire money cost, or to express in words the suffering and deprivation occasioned.

At the time of Lee's surrender about a million men were under arms for the defense of the Union. Records show that more than three hundred thousand had died, while many thousands more had lost limbs or eyesight, or had returned home with enfeebled health. In the South there were fewer soldiers, but the death rate was even greater. Probably not far from a million men laid down lives or health, for the Union on the one hand, for the dearly loved South on the other.

Money, too, was spent in almost incredible sums. The cost of maintaining the Union army soon came to be nearly two million dollars a day, and the government was forced to take steps to meet such unusual strain. Millions of dollars were raised by taxation. The tariff was increased and land and incomes taxed, as well as most of the commonly used luxuries of dress and the table. Thus every one, willingly or otherwise, helped to support the war. Even this, however, was not enough, and immense sums had to be borrowed by the government. These loans were secured by the sale of bonds, and by the use of paper currency issued directly by the government or through a new system of national banks authorized by Congress. The amount of money spent is estimated at from six to ten billions of dollars. The national debt

at the close of the war was more than forty times as great as it had been in 1861.

But the money spent to sustain the war, and even the loss of life, were but parts of the cost. In the South thousands of homes were broken up, buildings destroyed, and crops spoiled; the best people, sometimes all the people, in many communities, were on the verge of starvation; fortunes in slaves were lost when the slaves were set free; plantations lay idle for lack of negroes to work the land; the people had to face the serious and difficult problem of organizing a new industrial system to take the place of slavery. Everywhere were want and devastation; everywhere discouragement and mourning for "the Lost Cause." The South was completely crushed by its defeat.

In the North, on the other hand, business was flourishing, for the war had increased the demand for many things manufactured there. There was work for all who wished, but prices for necessities were high, and suffering therefore came to the poor. The farmer prospered, getting higher and higher prices for his produce; manufacturers made fortunes by the increase of business brought by the higher tariff on imported goods. No devastating armies marched on Northern soil, no battles brought death and destruction to the very doors of Northern householders. While grief for lost ones came to thousands of Northern homes, the horrors of actual warfare were far away.

The effect of
the war on
business in
the North

Perhaps one of the greatest losses to both North and South came in an event which followed by less than a week the surrender of Lee. This event was no less than the assassination of President Lincoln, — just at the moment when the nation needed him most. The North needed his calm wisdom to guide it in the moment of triumph. The South needed his loving sympathy to protect it in its defeat. And yet he was killed — by a man who believed he was doing the South a service, and avenging its wrongs.

The assassi-
nation of
Lincoln

On the evening of April 14, in the midst of the joy occasioned by the news that Lee had surrendered, Lincoln was shot while at the theatre by John Wilkes Booth, an actor and an ardent sympathizer with the South. Lincoln died after a few hours, and the joy of the country was at once turned to deepest grief. People had been slow to see the worth of Lincoln, but now his greatness was at last appreciated, and he was truly mourned. Even in the South, wise men saw at once that the South had lost her warmest friend; and the sad days which followed the war showed that this was true.

For two days the body of the great man lay in state in the Capitol, — then began the sad journey to Illinois. Following the same route which Lincoln had taken when he came to Washington to be inaugurated, the funeral train stopped at many places on the way, that the sorrowing people might look on the face of their loved leader. It was nearly three weeks before his body reached its last resting place in Springfield, his western home.

Poets, historians, and orators have said great and beautiful things about Abraham Lincoln. That he was wise, all agree; and not only wise, but good; and these two qualities — wisdom and goodness — had made him the savior of the Union. His own words, "with malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right" may be fitly used to describe himself. When in 1861 Lincoln came to the presidential chair, few could have foretold that his fame would be world-wide; but such it is, and will be in the ages to come.

The war was over, and in spite of all the blood spilt and money spent and suffering borne, — in spite of the nation's great loss in losing Lincoln, — the result gained was worth the sacrifice. The Union was saved and human slavery was dead. The nation had become a "nation dedicated to freedom" in truth. The years which followed the war brought perplexing problems, and the people of the South suffered, — indeed, to a certain extent are

still suffering, — while the answers to these problems are being worked out. But the "New Union" has fully justified the struggle.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The cost of the Civil War to both sides reached immense figures: not far from a million men, from six to ten billions of dollars, and ruin to almost the entire South, with the desolation of war.

2. The whole country sustained a terrible loss in the death of Lincoln, April 15, 1865.

3. The results of the war were great, and worth even the great sacrifice. The Union was preserved, and slavery was dead.

THINGS TO READ

1. "History of the United States," Rhodes, Vol. V, pp. 138-144.
2. "Abraham Lincoln," Hapgood, pp. 404-419.
3. "Abraham Lincoln," Moores, pp. 123-132.
4. "School History of the United States," McMaster, pp. 419-424.
5. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 773-776; 784-785.
6. "Poems of American History," Stevenson, pp. 537-544.

THINGS TO DO

1. Review Lincoln's life.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, THE MARTYR PRESIDENT

(Portrait)

"O Captain! my Captain! our fearful trip is done,
The ship has weathered every rack, the prize we sought is won,
The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and daring.

* * * * *

"Exult, O shores, and ring, O bells!
But I with mournful tread,
Walk the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead!"

— WALT WHITMAN.

RECONSTRUCTION

XXIV

RECONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS

WHEN Lee laid down his sword at Appomattox, the Civil War really came to an end. And yet we must realize that while the war had solved the problems of secession and slavery, it had brought new problems to both North and South. No great war leaves behind it the conditions which prevailed when it began.

In 1865 the great problems before the country were: —

In the Northern states: —

1. To return to peaceful occupations the great armies gathered for the war.
2. To adjust the taxes and the tariff to meet the conditions of returning peace.

In the South: —

1. To bring back prosperity to people and to communities ruined by the war.
2. To reestablish civil government.
3. To provide for the millions of freedmen who were without means of existence.
4. To build up a new industrial system, in which the negroes should find useful places.
5. To bring about harmony in the new relations between freedmen and their former masters.

Of these the Northern questions were easy of settlement compared with the Southern problems; and while the War and Treasury departments went on with the work of adjustment to newly

returning conditions of peace, the people of the Northern states went on quietly with their everyday affairs.

On May 1, 1865, over a million soldiers were in the ranks of the United States army. On May 23 and 24 a large part of these men took part in a "grand review" at Washington, marching down Pennsylvania Avenue from the Capitol, and passing the White House, where President Johnson and General Grant stood to review them. Then began the work of "mustering out" the volunteers. By the middle of November eight hundred thousand had been returned to their homes; by June, 1866, more than a million, and before the end of that year the volunteer army had passed out of existence. We shall read of "military occupation" of the South after this time, but must remember that only the regular army remained for such work.

Mustering out
the Union
soldiers; the
Grand Review

In the South conditions were far different. The Southern soldier returned in most cases to a home desolated by war. He had neither slaves to work his plantation nor money to provide necessities for his family. Many of the negroes, faithful though they had been while war lasted, had now left their former homes, expecting all sorts of wonderful fortune to come to them from the government which had set them free. There was a general impression among them that they were to be "taken care of," and their simple trust was both ludicrous and pathetic. They were unwilling to make agreements to work, many of them hanging about the army camps, waiting for the "forty acres and a mule" which they confidently looked for from the government. These unsettled conditions made it doubly hard for the Southern whites, and helped to strengthen their belief that the negroes would never become worthy members of society unless they were closely controlled by the white people.

Conditions in
the South

Neither Congress nor President Lincoln had waited for the war to come to an end before considering the question of the "reconstruction" of government in the seceded states when they should

be conquered. When secession came, the senators and representatives from the seceded states had withdrawn from Congress,

with almost no exceptions. Congress through the war, then, was a body of Northern and border state members. The question as to what should be done with the Southern states came up early among them. Various opinions were expressed. Thaddeus

Reconstruction
discussed
while war
was still in
progress

Stevens, a representative from Pennsylvania, and the leader of the Republicans in the House, believed in treating the Southern

states as conquered provinces. Few, however, at this time expressed views as strong as this. Lincoln always believed that if states had no right to secede, they must still be in the Union, in spite of the secession, and that conquering them meant simply rescuing their government from the people in rebellion and giving it into the hands of those who remained loyal. It was this belief which led to Lincoln's plan of reconstruction.

Thaddeus Stevens

This plan provided that state government should be resumed in any state where one tenth of the people were willing to take an oath of loyalty to the Constitution and the laws, promising also to abide by the acts of Congress and the proclamations of the President in regard to slavery. This one tenth of the people might hold elections, and send members to Congress. In December, 1863, Lincoln issued an "Amnesty Proclamation" outlining this plan, and under its provisions state governments were formed in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee.

A large majority, however, of Congress, looked upon the President's action as interference in what ought to be the work of

Lincoln's plan
for reconstruction

Congress. Much was said by them of his "government by proclamation," and his "shorthand method of reconstruction." The newly elected members from Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee were denied admission by both houses, and Congress went to work at once to form a plan of its own for reconstruction.

There was much difference of opinion even in Congress on the subject, but Sumner in the Senate, and Stevens in the House, gradually came into control, and their extreme views are seen more and more as time passed, in the acts of Congress. The Congressional Plan, as it is called, was based on the idea that if the Southern states were allowed to return to the Union before laws had been made in regard to slavery and for the protection of the freedmen, the results won by the war would all be lost. Then, too, argued the radical party in Congress, should "the rebellious states be allowed to return with no punishment for the trouble they had brought upon the country?" The seceded states were out of the Union — had "committed suicide"; and no new state government could be formed until a majority of the people in a state were ready to take the oath of allegiance. When that time came, the people might form a new state constitution, which should (1) "forbid slavery forever, (2) shut out from political power all who had been rebels, and (3) prohibit the payment of Confederate debts." Then the state might apply for readmission, which should be decided on not by the President, but by Congress.

The Reconstruction Act passed by Congress embodied this plan. These were far more severe terms than President Lincoln had made. When Lincoln failed to sign the bill, the feeling against him in Congress became bitter, but this happened at the very end of the session, and four months passed before Congress came together again in December, 1864. Then Lincoln in his message urged a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery. This was passed by Congress, and sent to the states to be ratified. Congress now set to work to frame a new Reconstruction Act. But

there was much argument and disagreement. By this time the radicals had gone far enough to urge that no state should be re-admitted until the people should promise to allow the negroes to vote. This provoked much discussion, and the session came to an end with nothing done, March 3, 1865, only a few weeks before Lee's surrender and Lincoln's death.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The readjustment of the North to returning peace was easily accomplished.

2. In the South harder questions came up for settlement. The chief problems were to reestablish state governments, to provide for the freedmen, and to adjust the relations between them and their former masters.

3. The question of "reconstruction" was considered as early as 1863. President Lincoln favored resuming the state governments in the seceded states as soon as one tenth of the people in them should take an oath of allegiance to the Constitution. Congress differed from the President, and passed a Reconstruction Act, making far more severe terms. This bill failed to become a law because the President did not sign it.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Side Lights on American History," Elson, Part II, pp. 148-159.
2. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 786-805.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *freedmen*, *mustering out*, *reconstruction*, *provinces*, *allegiance*, *constitutional amendment*, *radicals*, *amnesty*.

2. Discuss in class:—

- (1) What danger was possible to the North if Lincoln's plan for reconstruction had been adopted?
- (2) How might the Southern people have profited if Lincoln had lived and had carried out his plan for reconstruction?
- (3) Why did Thaddeus Stevens believe in the treatment which he recommended for seceded states?

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

RECONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS

In the North — to disband armies and to readjust taxation.

In the South — to provide for ruined communities and for freedmen, to reestablish civil government, to form a new industrial system, to adjust relations between freedmen and former masters.

XXV

RECONSTRUCTION ACTS

It is difficult to attempt to say what would have happened had Lincoln lived to carry on the work of reconstruction. Andrew Johnson, who had been elected Vice President at Lincoln's reelection in 1864, and who now came to the presidential chair, was far less able to solve the great question. Where Lincoln was patient and tactful, Johnson was headstrong and hot-tempered. Where Lincoln tried to go no faster than public opinion could follow, Johnson talked grandly of "my policy," and paid no attention to what the people thought. Lincoln was a Northern man and knew Northern sentiment; he was a Republican, who had had no small share in making the party. Johnson was a Southerner and a Democrat, who had been nominated by the Republicans in 1864 merely to help win Democratic and border state votes.

Then, too, the situation had changed somewhat. Lincoln had held and had used great power during the war. But war was now ended, and no need for "war measures" remained. Johnson became President in April. Congress would not meet until December unless the President called an extra session, as he was urged to do. Johnson, however, had no desire to lean on Con-

Andrew Johnson became President, April 14, 1865. He at once went to work on the reconstruction question

Andrew Johnson
Elected Vice President, 1864; became President upon Lincoln's death, serving nearly four years, 1865-1869.

gress, and he proceeded to issue a new "Amnesty Proclamation," much like Lincoln's; to raise the blockade; to collect the tariff; to carry the mails; and to set into motion the machinery of the United States courts in the South. Temporary governors were appointed, and the people willing to take an oath of loyalty elected legislatures and members of Congress.

When Congress assembled in December, 1865, the radicals were stronger than ever. All through the summer months they had

watched Johnson's reconstruction work with growing disapproval. They had scarcely assembled when the bitter quarrel began which was to last as long as the administration. Congress at once refused to recognize the members from the eleven reconstructed states. They argued that in these states the new legislatures had passed laws to oppress the negroes, and that this showed

Birthplace of Andrew Johnson

how unsafe it was to admit these states on such easy terms. They would soon have the negroes enslaved again, argued Sumner and Stevens.

It is true that laws were passed by Southern legislatures which bore heavily upon the negroes, and in some cases this may have been from a feeling of malice toward them. But most of the laws compelling the colored people to work simply show the fear of

the Southern whites that, unless obliged to work, the negroes would become vagrants and paupers.

Congress had much sympathy for the negroes and little, if any, for the Southern whites. To protect the negroes it passed the Civil Rights bill; the Freedmen's Bureau bill; and, more important than either, the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution was sent to the states for ratification. It was ratified and became part of the Constitution in July, 1868. This amendment guaranteed to the negro the rights of citizenship; it also made it for the advantage of the Southern states to give the negroes the right to vote, though it did not force this requirement upon them.

Important
reconstruction
acts passed by
Congress,
1866

All these acts of Congress were made law "over the President's veto"; that is, were repassed by a two thirds majority after he had vetoed them. That the radicals were able to control two thirds of both houses shows how strong they had become. They now went on to require of the Southern states asking readmission to the Union that they should ratify this Fourteenth Amendment. Tennessee did so, and was readmitted in July, 1866. The other ten refused to do so, and remained without.

The President and those who believed as he did that Congress had no right to keep states out of the Union, for any cause, were bitter in their feeling toward Congress. Johnson made a tour through the middle West, making many speeches in which he fiercely attacked Congress. "A Congress of only part of the states," he called it, and "a Congress violent in breaking up the Union." These were among the mildest of the terms he used, and he and his cause lost many friends by the violence of his language.

When Congress met in December, 1866, it was wrathful against the President to the point of violence like his own. No such quarrel between two branches of the government had ever taken place before. Congress went on with its reconstruction work, and it also took means to insure the humiliation of the President

in every way possible. The Reconstruction Act of March, 1867, shows the complete control of the radicals over Congress. They

The great Reconstruction Act, passed March, 1867 were no longer content to readmit states which should guarantee civil rights to the negro, and should agree to exclude from office all who had been in rebellion; the new law, passed as usual over the President's veto, demanded in addition the granting of negro suffrage as a condition for readmission; and until this should be given, the ten states still unreconstructed were to be held under strict military rule, their identity as states being lost by division of the whole South into five military districts.

Johnson had stood stubbornly by his policy of mercy to the conquered, and by his belief that the people of the South might be trusted to take up their government again and to do justice to their former slaves. His greatest fault lay in his lack of self-control when his policy was opposed, while the leaders of Congress showed much the same spirit. Fearing, or professing to fear, that Johnson would not execute the laws it had now passed, Congress tried by every means in its power to restrict the President's power. The height of this restriction was reached in the Tenure of Office Act, which forbade the President to remove any Federal officeholder without the consent of the Senate. Thus, even a cabinet officer might remain as an adviser of the President, however bitterly they might disagree, and the President could not get rid of him unless the Senate agreed.

Johnson denied the right of Congress to pass such an act, and the time soon came when he felt the injustice of it sorely. The Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, was not a friend to Johnson, being strongly in sympathy with the radicals in Congress. For a long time Johnson felt that Stanton was really a spy for Congress in the cabinet meetings. At last, in August, 1867, Johnson asked for Stanton's resignation, and when it was refused, suspended him from office. The Senate, however, refused to

agree to his removal. This brought the long quarrel to a climax. Johnson ordered Stanton to give up the office. Stanton refused. Congress, which for a year past had been striving to find in Johnson's course some illegal act for which he might be impeached, seized triumphantly upon his failure to obey the Tenure of Office Act, and in February, 1868, the impeachment of the President for "high crimes and misdemeanors" in office was resolved by the House.

Impeachment
of the Presi-
dent, Febru-
ary, 1868

The trial, which lasted for nearly two months, attracted widespread attention, but it failed to convict Johnson of any of the charges against him. One vote more than those cast for conviction would have decided the case against him, so his escape was narrow. The radicals, having failed to get rid of him, as they had hoped, paid little further attention to him, and the rest of his term passed without incident.

Soon after Johnson's acquittal the nominating conventions for the approaching presidential election took place. In the Republican platform we find the Congressional plan of reconstruction strongly indorsed, and Johnson strongly condemned. "We . . . regret the accession to the presidency of Andrew Johnson, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him, and the cause he was pledged to support; . . . who has refused to execute the laws; . . . who has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the vote of thirty-five senators." The Republican candidate was General Grant, who since the war had been the national hero.

The Democratic platform condemned the reconstruction acts of Congress as "unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void," and demanded "immediate restoration of all the states to their rights in the Union under the Constitution, and of civil government to the American people." Furthermore, it held up the President for praise in the following words: "That the President of the United States, Andrew Johnson, in exercising the powers of his high office

in resisting the aggressions of Congress . . . is entitled to the gratitude of the whole American people."

The Democratic candidate was Horatio Seymour, long prominent as governor of New York, and one of the strongest and best men of the Democratic party. His chance of election, however, was small in view of the great popularity of Grant, who became President March 4, 1869.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. After Lincoln's death, Andrew Johnson, who had been elected Vice President, came to the presidential chair. Johnson was a Southern man, but a strong Unionist.

2. Johnson's plan for reconstruction was much the same as Lincoln's. He, however, was less tactful than Lincoln probably would have been in carrying it out, and soon came into conflict with Congress in regard to it.

3. "The presidential plan" was put into operation by Johnson without waiting for Congress to meet. When Congress did meet it refused to accept this reconstruction, and formed a reconstruction policy of its own.

4. The "Congressional plan" made it much harder for the seceded states to be restored to the Union. To protect the future of the negroes the Thirteenth and Fourteenth amendments were passed. States wishing to be restored were required to ratify these. Tennessee did so, and was readmitted in 1866.

5. The quarrel between the President and Congress became violent, and the President was finally impeached.

6. The principal ground for impeaching the President was for his failure to obey the "Tenure of Office Act," which Congress had passed on purpose to reduce his power. The impeachment failed, by only one vote, however.

7. Public opinion in the North supported the radicals in Congress. Their candidate for President, General Grant, was elected by a large majority in the electoral college.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Side Lights on American History," Elson, Part II, pp. 160-214.
2. "Source Book," Hart, pp. 336-351.
3. "History of the United States," Elson, pp. 805-812.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *policy, temporary, vagrants, paupers, humiliation, suffrage, impeached, acquittal*.

2. Review the reconstruction measures taken by Lincoln. Form an opinion in regard to the plans of President Johnson and Congress. Which seems to you the most wise and just? Support your opinion by reasons.

3. Look up in the Constitution (Appendix) the provision for impeachment of a President. What other officers may be impeached?

4. Make an estimate of Johnson's character. In what ways did he seem to lack understanding of the dignity of his office? What were his good qualities?

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

RECONSTRUCTION

THE PRESIDENTIAL PLAN	THE CONGRESSIONAL PLAN
	<p>1. In 1866 — Conditions required for readmission.</p> <p>2. In 1867 — New conditions.</p>

Amendments to the Constitution resulting from the War.

XIII. Provided —

XIV. Provided —

XV. Provided —

XXVI

THE SOUTH DURING THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD

WE have said little of the South during the Reconstruction Period, but we must remember that while political quarrels raged at Washington, the people of the South were the chief sufferers. To the desolation which succeeded the war was soon added anxiety for the future, as the plans of the politicians began to develop. The fact that slavery was dead was accepted readily enough, so that the Thirteenth Amendment aroused no opposition. But with the Fourteenth Amendment the case was quite different. As we have seen, ten states of the eleven refused to ratify this. In this refusal we must believe that they were shortsighted, if not really wrong, since its terms, if not generous, were just, and since the refusal of the South to accept it led to the severer terms adopted by Congress in 1867.

By the terms of the Reconstruction Act, we find the South **Military rule** placed under military rule, with no chance for **in the South** restoration to civil government except through the ratification of the amendment and the granting of negro suffrage as well.

The story of the time is one of misunderstanding on the part of both North and South. In the North, civil rights and suffrage for the negro seemed to many the natural outcome of abolishing slavery. In the South, people found it hard to believe that the welfare of the negro was in the minds of Northern men, and they bitterly asserted and believed that the negro vote was desired only to strengthen the party which had given the negro freedom, and which now desired further to oppress the South.

It became evident to the Southern people, however, that they

were really helpless in the matter, and that only by agreeing to negro suffrage could they have 'military rule replaced by civil government; and so one by one the states made and ratified new constitutions which conformed to the requirements of Congress. Under the protection of the troops, elections were held, legislatures formed, and once more state governments were set in motion.

According to the reconstruction acts, all negro men over twenty-one were entitled to vote, while all white men who could not swear that they had "never voluntarily borne arms against the United States," nor "given aid . . . to persons engaged in armed hostility thereto," nor "yielded a voluntary support to any pretended government . . . within the United States hostile . . . thereto," were excluded from voting. This was the famous "iron-clad oath."

The negroes who came thus suddenly into political power were in most cases entirely ignorant of all political matters, and had been used all their lives to guidance in even the simplest affairs of everyday living. It needed only skillful and unscrupulous leaders to control their votes absolutely. These leaders appeared from several sources. First, there were a few of their own race who were more intelligent than their fellows, and who were eager to enter political life. Then there were Northern men who had gone South when the war ended, to buy plantations from their ruined owners, or to promote some money-making scheme, or in some cases for the very purpose of seeking political office. In states where none but the low and ignorant were allowed a share in political proceedings, clever Northern politicians soon obtained great following. "Carpetbaggers," the ex-Confederates called them, implying that they had come South with no more possessions than they could bring in a carpetbag, and with no intention of remaining longer than they might profit by the sorrows and humiliations of the Southern people. Some of the carpetbaggers were good men, honest in their intention of making homes in the South, but many

of them were just what the sneering Southern epithet implied. Under their leadership the negroes developed great enthusiasm for politics, and the new legislatures were made up of freedmen, carpetbaggers, and the despised "scalawags," Southern men who had either been Unionists during the war or had turned Republican since for their own profit. Descriptions of the sessions of these legislatures

The legis-
latures in re-
constructed
states

show us strange scenes. In the places where proud and haughty Southern statesmen had been wont to meet were now roughly dressed and rudely spoken men, some black, some white, but all with little idea of the dignity of law-making. Unaccustomed to handling money for even the small necessities of life, these former slaves voted away hundreds of thousands of dollars for running the government and for improvements which it is hard to believe they could even understand. When, as often happened, a large part of the money voted never reached the use for which it had been asked, the negro legislators had little sense of wrongdoing, and if some of it found its way to their own pockets, they regarded that only as part of the political game. Huge state debts accumulated, with little or nothing to show for them.

An old time carpet-
bag

The better class of white people, having no part in the government, looked on with dismay at the result of the action of Congress. The thought of being under the rule of their former slaves was intolerable, and the first years of that rule quite justified the feeling. The negroes, since their wonderful change of position, were coming to feel that henceforth the South belonged to them, and bad leaders encouraged them in this belief. Laziness, dishonesty, and crime increased among them. The Southern people, in their desperation, feeling that the law was against them rather than for them, undertook to mend matters without the law. Southern men organized secret societies, which met in darkness and by stealth. Every man disguised himself by a strange white

covering, and even the horses were covered with white. These societies formed the famous Ku Klux Klan. Riding silently forth at night from the forest, these bands struck terror to the hearts of the simple-minded negroes, whom they punished for all sorts of offenses. Many a negro voter was frightened out of the desire to exercise his political rights. Many a carpetbagger or scalawag had to give up his political ambition. Some who persisted were even murdered. All the deeds of the Klan were marked by the same secrecy. No one save the victim saw the mysterious horsemen come or go. No one knew who they were, nor when nor where they met. There were only the confused accounts of those who had been "visited," the notes of warning, signed K.K.K., which were found on the door of the cabin or the carpetbagger's house, or even on the lifeless body which bore witness to the vengeance of the Klan. The name Ku Klux came to inspire terror everywhere in the South. Punishment of these daring men was almost impossible, so complete was the mystery in which they concealed themselves.

Congress made every effort to support the "carpetbag" governments. Various "enforcement acts" were passed to provide for the protection of the colored voter at election times, and troops were freely used to carry them out. The Fifteenth Amendment was passed, insuring negro suffrage for the future.

But the distressing conditions in the South could not continue. Sympathy for the Southern whites began to arise. Public opinion in the North was coming to see the injustice of allowing the poor, the ignorant, the unintelligent, to have absolute rule over the property owners and educated men. It began to be seen, too, that the negro was not yet fitted to exercise political rights, and that it was not really justice to him to permit him to do things for which he was not fitted. Nor was it best for the nation to go on year after year upholding by military force state governments which could not exist alone.

The change in public opinion begins to be seen in the action of

Congress. In May, 1872, an amnesty bill was passed which restored to about 150,000 ex-Confederates the right of holding office. By this time almost all respectable people in the South were firmly united against the misrule in the name of the Republican party; and the return of the ex-Confederates to political life meant in every Southern state the coming into power of the Democratic party.

After 1872 all the states were represented in Congress; but not until 1877 were the last of the troops withdrawn. When they marched away, however, the oppression of the South by the victorious North was ended. "The withdrawal of the troops was proof," says Rhodes, "that the Reconstruction of the South, based on universal negro suffrage, was a failure, and that on the whole, the North was content that the South should work out the negro problem in her own way, subject to the three constitutional amendments, which embodied the results of the Civil War; and subject also to the public opinion of the enlightened world."

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. After the refusal of ten of the eleven Southern states to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, Congress passed a Reconstruction Act which required states asking readmission not only to ratify this amendment, but to grant the suffrage to the negroes.

2. The South, by the terms of this act, was thus suddenly and completely given over to the rule of the lately emancipated slaves. They had no idea of government, and fell at once under the influence of "carpetbaggers" from the North and "scalawags" belonging to the Southern white population.

3. The negro rule aroused the bitterest feeling among Southern whites. Finding no help in the law, they used lawless methods of breaking the power of the "carpetbag governments."

4. Congress supported the carpetbaggers and negroes, but gradually a change of feeling came in the North. Congress pardoned the ex-Confederates, who rallied to the support of the Democratic party, and brought back order to the unhappy South.

THINGS TO READ

"Red Rock," Thomas Nelson Page.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *magnanimous, voluntary, hostility, unscrupulous, desperation, stealth, vengeance.*
2. Questions for class discussion:—
 - (1) Were the Southern people justified in resisting negro rule?
 - (2) What do you think of the methods employed by the Ku Klux Klan?
 - (3) Did justice to the negro require that he be allowed to vote? What advantage would he gain through the right?
 - (4) Were the conditions affecting the negro's ability to vote just after the war any different from the conditions now? What is your opinion as to the wisdom of negro suffrage now? Is it wise to allow all white men to vote? Are there any restrictions upon the suffrage in any Northern state?
 - (5) What is being done for the negro in these days to make him a better citizen? Can you name some of the men who are influential in thus helping the black race? Can you name one negro man who has risen to a high place in public opinion? What do you think are the possibilities of the race?

OUTLINE

VIII. Reconstruction, 1865–1873.

(Presidents: Johnson, 1865–1869; Grant, 1869–1873.)

A. Plans for reconstruction during the war.

1. Lincoln's plan.
2. The opposition of Congress.
3. The Thirteenth Amendment.

B. Reconstruction under Johnson.

1. Johnson's policy; states which availed themselves of his terms.
2. Attitude of Congress toward Johnson; the Congressional plan:
 - a. Conditions imposed upon states in 1866.
 - b. Fourteenth Amendment.
 - c. Further conditions in 1867; the reconstruction acts: required granting of negro suffrage; military rule in the South.
3. Quarrel between President and Congress; Tenure of Office Act; Johnson's disregard of this law; the President impeached, but not convicted.
4. Condition of the South.
 - a. Military rule.
 - b. Carpetbag governments and their acts.
 - c. Grievances of Southern whites; the Ku Klux Klan.
5. Gradual restoration of political rights to Southern whites.

THE NEW UNION

XXVII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST

IN tracing our history since the close of the Civil War, there are many lines of study to follow; life in America has become complex and confusing in its details, if we try to study them together. For that reason we shall find it easier to take up one distinct topic at a time, and to follow it as far as possible to the present day.

A subject of importance is the wonderful development of the West. Great beginnings had, of course, been made before 1860,

but since the war the West has become a great power in adding to the wealth and industry of the land. In 1860 the "frontier" was to be found in what we now call the Middle West. By 1861 seven states had been made from the Louisiana Purchase, with Oregon and Cali-

fornia on the Pacific coast. A vast territory stretched between, some parts of which were scantily settled, while others were still forest and wilderness.

Silver had been found in large quantities in Nevada, and a rush somewhat like that to California in 1849 peopled Nevada rapidly enough to bring it into the Union as a state in 1864. ~~Silver and gold discoveries~~ The discovery of gold near Pike's Peak, 1859, led to the rapid growth of mining camps there, and resulted in the

formation of Colorado Territory in 1861, and in its admission as a state in 1876.

A steady drift of emigrants from the East to the mountains now occurred; while many taking Horace Greeley's advice, "Go West, young man," stopped in the fertile prairie regions. Instead of the fifty or sixty days necessary to clear an acre of land for farming in a wooded region, two or three days was enough

Hand Plow

Compare with the modern steam plow (page 468)

on the prairie land; the climate was well adapted to grain raising, and gradually the great wheat farms of our time grew up. These farms would not be possible without the farm machinery which was invented in answer to the demand for quicker **Improved** methods. The horse-drawn plow, turning a single **farming** furrow, gave way to the steam plow, which could **implements** turn many furrows at once. Improved and enlarged reapers, rakes, and cultivators increased yearly the grain yield. But this

increase in crops would have been worse than useless but for the increased facilities for transportation.

Steam Plow in Operation

Immediately after the war we find a period of great railroad building. Up to this time many short lines had been built.

Railroad building Now came the task of combining and connecting these into railway systems, which meant great saving of time in travel, increased comfort for travelers, and far better facilities for handling freight. The first of these railway systems

was formed by Cornelius Vanderbilt, who bought up the lines connecting points in New York State, and formed the New York Central and Hudson River Railway, still one of the well-known and powerful roads of the country. Other combinations were made. Several Eastern roads extended their lines to Chicago, and plans were made to satisfy the demand already made for "trunk lines" which should connect the West and the East, which should even cross the Rockies to the Pacific.

The Union Pacific Railroad was begun, stretching westward from Omaha. The Central Pacific, running east from California, was to meet the Union Pacific.

These were great undertakings, and great sums of money were needed to carry them through. The building of these roads differed from that of other roads that had been attempted in the fact that they were not to pass along through a country already settled and ready to give support to a railroad, but through wildernesses, which would be settled only after the railroad had led the way, if ever settled at all. It was evident that such roads would not be profitable for many years. And yet it was desirable that they should be built. Congress lent millions of dollars to the two companies, besides giving them grants of the public land through which the roads would pass. At last, in 1869, the difficulties of construction being overcome, the two roads were brought to a meeting point at Ogden, Utah. A train from the

A "Pony Express"

The only form of communication between the East and the far West in early days.

First trans-continental railway completed, 1869

East there met a train from the West, and as they were stopped within a few feet of each other, the passengers, who were guests invited to witness the formal completion of the road, gathered to watch the driving of the golden spike which finished the work.

After the opening of this road, others were planned and built. To-day half a dozen or more connect the East with the Pacific coast; and a large amount of commerce with China, Japan, and the islands of the East has been developed. The dream of a short passage to the Indies has thus, in a sense, been realized.

Westward Movement of Center of Population

In the early days of Western development, it had been expected that the government would realize great sums by the sale of its public lands. But gradually the opinion grew that the land ought to be sold cheaply to settlers, or even given to them, since the rapid development of the country would be worth more to the nation than the revenue from slow sales. For many years, therefore, public lands were to be bought for one dollar and a quarter an acre. In 1862 a "Homestead Law" was passed, which provided that a farm of one hundred and sixty acres should be given to any settler who would build a home there, and cultivate the land within a given time. Thousands of men took advantage of this offer, until now practically all the fertile land has been taken.

The settlement of the Western wilderness brought the people

into conflict with the Indians, who resented the intrusion of the whites as they had done in the East in earlier days. In the early days of the nation the Indians had been solemnly promised by the government again and again that beyond certain boundaries

the whites should not interfere with them, but the Indians had long ago lost faith in the promises of the government, for over and over again they had been forced to sell their hunting grounds, and move farther west to find new homes. In 1834 Congress had set off the Indian Territory, and had also set apart Indian reservations in many different parts of the West. Into these the Indians were gathered, living rather sad lives, all the freedom of their old life gone, hating the white men who had stolen away the land which once was theirs, and

A Typical Indian Chief of Recent Times
Notice his dress, showing the white man's influence.
In feature, however, the face is typically Indian.

losing all the vigor and hardihood of earlier days.

Sometimes a flash of the old-time war spirit would rise, however, and a tribe would once more go on the warpath to avenge its wrongs. In 1873 the Modocs of Oregon rose thus, and much fighting ensued before the government succeeded in subduing them. The Sioux tribe, led by their famous chief, Sitting Bull, made a desperate fight a few years later. It was during this war

with the Sioux that General Custer, a veteran officer of the Civil War, and his company of two hundred and fifty cavalymen all lost their lives. Surrounded by a force of Indians ten times as great as their own, these brave men fought to the last, until every man lay dead beside his horse. The Sioux were finally subdued

The Fisheries Building

World's Columbian Exposition, held in Chicago, in 1893, commemoration of the completion of the fourth century since the discovery of America.

and their reservation bought by the government and opened for settlement in 1890. Miners, hunters, cattlemen, and farmers swarmed over the country.

Everywhere settlers looked with hungry eyes on the Indian lands, for grazing or farming. In 1889 vacant lands in Indian Territory were opened and organized into Oklahoma Territory. So great had the desire become for a foothold there that by the day appointed for opening the region an army of anxious men was encamped about the borders, awaiting the signal to rush across the line and "stake their claims." At noon on the appointed day the troops who were on guard gave the

signal, and a mad rush for the best lands began. Towns already planned on paper were realized first as cities of tents, but the next year Guthrie and Oklahoma had each reached a population of about five thousand people. Ten years later both had reached ten thousand. In 1907 Oklahoma was admitted as a state.

The great prairie land has rapidly been brought under cultivation or used for grazing purposes. Cattle raising has become a great industry, and the great meat-packing business which we associate with Chicago, St. Louis, and Kansas City has developed in its train. The mountains have been made to yield immense quantities of gold, silver, and other metals. There remain only the arid or desert regions of the Southwest. Already some of this land has been made fertile by irrigation, and plans are being made to irrigate much more. This will mean another large addition to the farming and grazing lands.

The "New West" has come to have many important cities in the years since the war, and to support a large population. Yet there is room for many more people, and for a greater development of the country. The wisdom of the Louisiana Purchase as well as the advantage to the country of possessing the Pacific coast was proven long ago. Politically, industrially, commercially, we could ill spare from our country the great West.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The West has made rapid strides in population, wealth, and importance since the Civil War.
2. Great "trunk line" railroads now unite the East and the West.
3. Land has been given by the government to settlers in the West, who have built up great farms and cattle ranches on the prairie lands.
4. Conflicts with the Indians have arisen as the settlers pushed to the westward. Much of the land once promised to the Indian as his forever has been taken away from him and opened for settlement.

THINGS TO READ

1. "The Making of the Great West," Drake, pp. 308-329.
2. "American Indians," Starr, pp. 221-227.

3. "The Story of the Railroad," Warman.
4. "The Louisiana Purchase," Hitchcock, pp. 241-286.
5. "The Story of the Cowboy," Hough.
6. "The Story of the Mine," Shinn.
7. "The Story of the Indian," Grinnell.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *emigrants, prairie, facilities, freight, homestead, reservation, stake a claim, arid, irrigation*.
2. Show on a map the states west of the Mississippi, marking on each the date of its admission.
3. Questions for class discussion : —
 - (1) Why did Congress give land along the railroad routes to the companies building the roads? What return did Congress expect the companies to make to the nation for these grants?
 - (2) Form an opinion in regard to the treatment of the Indians by the United States government. Has the government attempted to civilize the Indians? Should it do so? Have the Indians shown a desire to become civilized? How can the government, which always paid the Indians for their land, be accused of unfairness in buying it?
 - (3) Why did the "Homestead Law" require that settlers must build homes and cultivate their farms within a required time?

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. A map showing transcontinental railways, important cities in the West, the remaining territory from which states can be made.
2. If possible, obtain pictures showing the resources and development of the West. Advertising matter issued by Western railroads will be found of much service.

XXVIII

CHANGES IN INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

THE years since the Civil War have shown industrial development as great and as wonderful as the change and development we have followed in the West. The same forces — the railroad, the telegraph, improved machinery, new inventions — have been at work everywhere.

Perhaps more wonderful than any other inventions of the period are the uses to which electricity is put. We are so accustomed to the telegraph, the telephone, electric lights
Uses of and heaters, electric cars, boats, and carriages, that
electricity we do not realize how recent most of these things are.

The first telegraph message was flashed along the wire in 1844. The telegraph wrought a revolution in business methods. Rapidly following the railroad, it soon came into general use throughout America and in Europe. New York and Philadelphia, Chicago and Washington, Paris and Rome, could now exchange real "daily news" with each other. In 1852 a successful "submarine telegraph," under the waters of the English Channel, was
The first put into operation. London could now exchange
Atlantic cable, messages with the continent of Europe. Daring
1866 thinkers, including Samuel Morse, whose genius had invented the telegraph, now dreamed of a telegraphic cable under the waters of the Atlantic. London and New York must talk together as London and Paris did. It took thirteen years of successive failure and disappointment to realize the dream. Success came in 1866, largely through the perseverance of Cyrus W. Field, whom we must honor for the faith with which he expended all his great fortune for the accomplishment of what most men

deemed an impossible scheme. In 1902, sixteen cables across the Atlantic were in use; other cables have been laid to connect various parts of the world. The latest achievements are Pacific cables, in 1902 from Australia to British Columbia, seventy-eight hundred miles, and in 1903 from San Francisco to the Philippines, about the same distance.

Not yet, however, had the wonders of electricity as a message carrier been exhausted. In 1875 came the telephone, Alexander Bell's wonderful invention. One may stand now in ~~The tele-~~ one's own home or office, and may send, not messages, ~~phone, 1875~~ but the sound of one's own voice, over the wire to one's friend or business associate. We may talk over the telephone with people in our own town, or in cities many miles or many hundreds of miles away. There is no delay as with the telegraph for the delivery of messages from the receiving office. We simply talk as we would if the person we address were close beside us.

Truly, in comparison with this the telegraph seems a clumsy device. And yet for many purposes the telegraph is as useful as ever. Newspapers and railroads make constant use of it, and all of us can think of times when a short message by telegraph exactly suits our needs.

Not even with the invention of the telephone, however, had the end of electrical talking machines come. In ~~The phono-~~ 1888 Thomas Edison produced ~~graph, 1888~~ the "phonograph," a machine which, as we all know, reproduces the sound of voices in speech or song, or other sounds of which it has made a "record." The phonograph reproduces these sounds any length of time after they were originally made, and any number of times the operator desires. For entertainment the phonograph has proven a great success; and it has some business uses.

Thomas A. Edison

478 AMERICAN HISTORY FOR GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

In 1896 William Marconi succeeded in bringing to practical service the idea of "wireless telegraphy." By use of the Marconi system we may now receive messages from a ship anywhere at sea; messages have been sent by it across the broad Atlantic.

Electricity has been "harnessed for man's use" in many ways besides these. The familiar trolley car is really a recent inven-

Petroleum centre, Venango County, Pa.
A typical scene in the oil regions.

tion, the first practical line of this kind having been built in Kansas City in 1884. More recent than this is the automobile, which has become a familiar sight on our streets since the last years of the nineteenth century. Most of the automobiles we see are not driven by electric power alone, however, but by what are called "internal explosion" engines. Gasoline or naphtha gas is exploded by an electric spark, providing force to run the carriage or car or boat — for gasoline power boats are now al-

most as common in our harbors and on our rivers as automobiles are on land.

The use of electricity for lighting is the last step in a succession of improvements in the illumination of streets and buildings.

At the time of the Civil War kerosene was only beginning to be used, taking the place of whale oil and of candles.

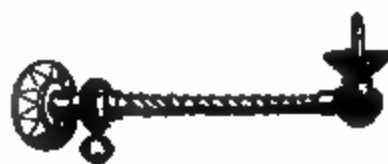
Improvements
in illumi-
nating

In fact, the first successful oil well in America was drilled no earlier than 1859. Since that time thou-



sands of oil wells have been drilled, and many millions of gallons of petroleum are used every year. Petroleum yields other products as well as kerosene—gasoline, naphtha, benzine, vaseline, and paraffin being familiar to us all. The production of kerosene and methods of marketing it have undergone great changes since the beginning of the business. Transportation problems have been cleverly solved by the use of "pipe lines," pipes being laid from

the wells to many points of distribution throughout the country, and the oil pumped along hundreds of miles, saving much handling and expense. Long before



such methods had been even thought of, however, a more convenient method of lighting was begging for recognition. Gas-



lighting is really older than kerosene, dating back to 1827, when the New York Gaslight Company was formed. Gas is now in general use for lighting and for cooking. Electric lighting, however, during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, came in many places to take the

place of both kerosene and gas. The arc light is the older form of electric lighting, while the incandescent light, first shown

in 1879 by its inventor, Thomas Edison, sprang into almost instant favor. The electric light is convenient and safe, since no matches are used to light it and no unguarded flame is exposed as in lamps and gaslights.

In addition to the inventions we have studied, thousands of other inventions or improvements have come to increase the com-

fort of living, and
Increase of manufactures; to aid all the pro-
immense cesses of industry.
factories Manufactures,

aided by better machinery, have greatly developed since the war. Great factories, employing hundreds of workers, have taken the places of the smaller shops.

The old way, by which man made the whole of an article, has given way to the "factory system," by which each worker does only a small part of the work. No workman can make a watch or a pair of shoes. He

Benjamin Franklin's Printing Press
Compare with the modern press.

knows only his own small share of the work. Often he merely tends a machine; for it seems sometimes nowadays as though men and machines had changed places — the man's work becoming mechanical, and the machines seeming to be possessed of almost human intelligence.

Many factory workers earn too little to support their families; and since women and even children can tend machines, many of them are employed. Often the mother works, leaving small children uncared for at home. Sometimes whole families spend a long day in the mills.

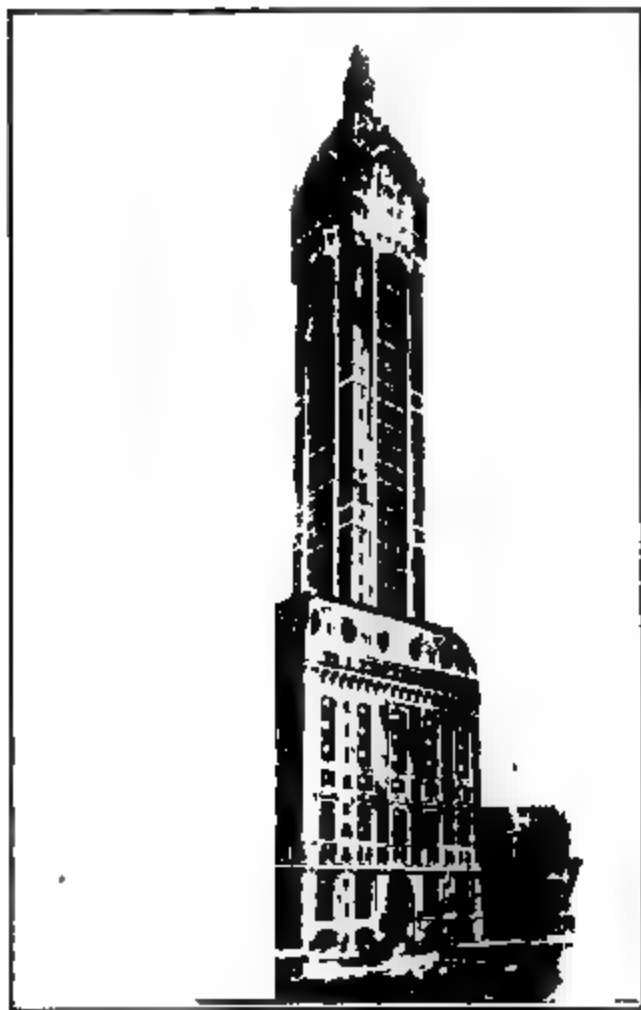
The factories have drawn many people from the rural communities to the towns. The large cities have grown larger, and

many small towns have had wonderful growth. This great increase of town and city life has brought with it new problems for people and nation to face. The question of providing ~~Homes for~~ comfortable homes for dwellers in crowded districts is ~~city dwellers~~ one of these. In the tenement houses many people live under the most unhealthful conditions. It is not uncommon for a large family to cook, eat, and sleep in one poorly ventilated room,

Modern Newspaper Press

with no facilities and often little desire for cleanliness or the common decencies of life. In recent years great numbers of "flats" and apartment houses for the comparatively well to do have been built. In these many families are gathered under one roof. The flat dwellers live under no such distressing circumstances as the people of the tenements. But many of them suffer from a lack of fresh air, for there are an astonishing number of windowless rooms in the flats of New York. And the children suffer, as do those of the extremely poor, for playgrounds. There is no

playground for the average child in a large city but the street. Attempts are being made in some cities to remedy this evil by parks and public playgrounds. In New York the recreation piers and the free bath houses along the river are used by many thou-



Singer Building, New York City

sands of people during the hot days of summer. Day nurseries, where working women may leave their babies to be cared for, are another help. But all these things are but beginnings in solving the question of making city life safe, sanitary, and happy for the poor.

In the business districts of such cities as New York no land available for business use is allowed to stand idle. Year by year new buildings have been carried higher and higher, until the "skyscraper," built of steel, has come to tower over the buildings of earlier date. Thirty or more stories is not unusual, while the Singer

building, in New York, reaches a height of forty-one stories.

The demand for rapid transit from one part of the modern city to another has been answered not only by trolley lines, but by improved methods of transit in cities elevated railroads and by underground railroads or subways, by bridges over rivers and by tunnels under their waters. New York employs all these methods. Great engineering projects have been undertaken and carried to

success. In 1883 was completed the Brooklyn suspension bridge, at that time a great achievement. Other bridges, and tunnels under land and under water have been built with great engineering skill. None of these great works could have been accomplished

Brooklyn Bridge

in the days before the possibilities of steel for building were discovered.

Another grave problem which confronts the cities, and therefore the nation, is that of immigration. America has long seemed a haven of refuge to the poor and oppressed of other lands. In the early years of the republic the coming of foreigners was so much a matter of course that no record was kept of their number. Since 1820, however, records have been kept, and the increase of immigrants has been in some years quite startling. In 1900 the foreign-born constituted more than an eighth of the total population of the country. This fact in itself is not serious, perhaps, but we read that more than a third of the people in New York City and in Chicago are foreign-born, and that in each of these places there are considerably more foreign-born males of voting age than there are native-born males. It is clear that these cities have real immigration problems. It is not fair, of course, to class all immigrants together. Many of the people who come to us from other lands are a source of strength

rather than weakness to the country. But when the ignorant and those who are unskilled in any useful labor come, they become at once a burden; when diseased or criminal immigrants come, they endanger the life or welfare of all; and of recent years increasing numbers of such have come. Laws have been made from time to time to exclude paupers and criminals, but it is difficult to enforce them.

The immigrants who come to us now in large numbers are not of the races which gave us those of earlier years. In the ten years

An Ocean Steamship—the *Luxitania*

This ship and her sister ship, the *Mauretania*, have made wonderful speed records in crossing the Atlantic. Look up their latest records, and compare with time made by the *Sesamuk*. (See page 339.)

from 1850 to 1860 more than half of our immigrants came from the British Isles, while Germany furnished 38 per cent of the number. In 1902 the British Isles and Germany together sent us only 11½ per cent, the great bulk of immigration (over 70 per cent) coming from Italy, Russia, Poland, and Austria-Hungary.

How to make these aliens of different races, languages, and ways of life into Americans is the great problem confronting us. Those who most readily adopt our customs make the best citizens. Some never become like us, coming to America only to make money, and returning to their own land when their ambition is satisfied. The Chinese are of this sort, and they have long been

considered undesirable additions to our population. Living on only a few cents a day, they are willing to work for wages which other laborers could not accept. In cities where they have settled in any numbers, they congregate in a "Chinatown" in which unsanitary living is combined with strange cus- Chinese
toms and low moral standards, if not crime; it is exclusion
believed that they form a menace to our civilization as well as to

Prospective American Citizens

industrial conditions. In the early days of California, when the gold mines were drawing thousands with their promise of fortune, it was difficult to find domestic servants and common laborers, and the Chinese were welcomed. A few years later the building of the Pacific railroads brought still greater need, and great numbers of Chinese were imported. In 1868 a treaty with China was made which distinctly encouraged immigration. Conditions soon changed, however. The completion of the Union Pacific

brought Eastern workmen to try their fortunes in the West, and they were dismayed at the terms upon which they must enter into competition with the Chinese. Gradually, too, the habits of the Chinese were becoming known, and it was only a short time before the whole Pacific coast was crying out for their exclusion.

It proved, however, impossible to secure a treaty from China which would permit entire prohibition of Chinese immigration, without the loss of protection and privileges given Americans in China. The most which could be obtained was permission to "regulate, limit, or suspend" the coming of Chinese laborers. A treaty to this effect was made in 1880. Congress in 1882 suspended Chinese immigration for ten years. In 1892 the suspension was continued for a second period of ten years. In 1902 the exclusion was made perpetual.

There has been for several years a growing feeling in California against the Japanese, who have to a certain extent taken the places of the Chinese laborers. California demands regulation of Japanese immigration, and is likely to demand the exclusion of the Japanese.

It would be impossible for us to mention all the changes in ways of living and industrial conditions which the latter half of the nineteenth century produced. We have already spoken of the great growth of the factory system, and we must take note of the tendency, recently and rapidly developed, of capitalists to combine into huge companies, buying up smaller concerns or crowding them out. The greater part of the business of the whole country in many lines is in the hands of perhaps two or three corporations. The Standard Oil Company is a familiar example of this way of doing business, and there are many other combinations or "trusts" controlling other products. The railroads of the country are now in the hands of not many more than a half-dozen companies. The questions which this tendency to combination brings up we shall return to in a later chapter.

Trusts

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. Great industrial changes have taken place since the Civil War. Many of the common comforts of our homes, as well as many widely used mechanical appliances, are inventions of this period.

2. The first successful Atlantic cable was laid in 1866.

3. The telephone, the phonograph, the wireless telegraph, electric cars, electric lights, the automobile, and the motor boat are some of the electrical inventions which have changed home life and business methods.

4. Great factories have taken the place of the small shops in which things were formerly made.

5. The increase of town and city life has brought new and serious problems to the people of the nation. The large number of foreign-born people in the cities of the North and West to be made into Americans presents, perhaps, the gravest question of all.

THINGS TO READ

1. "Four American Inventors," Perry, pp. 205-260.

2. "American Inventions and Inventors," Mowry, pp. 77-89, 221-244, 278-294.

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *submarine, cable, rural, engineering, suspension, immigration, aliens, menace, exclusion, corporations*.

2. Discuss in class:—

(1) Are our "modern conveniences" really benefits? Are our lives any better because of them?

(2) What are the advantages of city life? of country life? Has country life changed in equal measure with city life? What are the disadvantages of city life? of country life?

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. Samuel F. B. Morse. (Portrait)
The Electric Telegraph, 1844.

2. Thomas A. Edison. (Portrait)
(Name his chief inventions.)

3. The modern city.

Compare the cities of to-day with the old-fashioned city or town. Mention size, kind of buildings, streets, transportation facilities, industries, commerce. Illustrate, if possible.

XXIX

THE NEW SOUTH

It is pleasant for us to remember that in the progress of the days since the war the South has nobly borne its part. "There was a South of slavery and secession — that South is dead. There is a South of Union and freedom — that South, thank God, is living, breathing, growing every hour." These words, spoken in 1866 by one of the South's leading men, have been more than justified as the years have passed.

"The old South," said Henry Grady of Atlanta, in an address in New York in 1886, "rested everything on slavery and agriculture. — The new South presents a perfect democracy — a hundred farms for every plantation, fifty homes for every palace — and a diversified industry that meets the complex needs of this complex age."

And again in the same speech he says, "We have challenged your spinners in Massachusetts and your iron makers in Pennsylvania." Before the war the South manufactured none of the cotton it raised; but the end of the nineteenth century saw nearly one third of the cotton mills in the country located in the Southern states; while in a list of states producing pig iron, in 1901 Alabama stands first. Birmingham, a typical manufacturing city of the South, shows vigorous growth. Chartered as a city in 1871, with a population of less than a thousand, in 1900 it had gained a population of over thirty-eight thousand. Nashville, in Tennessee, had in 1900 nearly five times its population in 1860, and a varied list of manufactures, in addition to a large trade in lumber, cotton, grain, and flour.

Atlanta, which had been almost entirely destroyed during the

war, was quickly rebuilt, and is now a larger city than Hartford, Connecticut, and quite as busy as its Northern sister. Other towns show similar increase and industry.

Even in sections where agriculture is still the chief or only pursuit, many products have now taken the place of the once universal cotton. And yet the cotton crop has **Diversified** steadily grown, the number of pounds of cotton raised **crops** in 1900 being twice that of 1860. The variety of present-day crops has brought Southern fruit and vegetables to our Northern markets. "The whole coast line is a garden," said the editor of one of our leading magazines in 1907, and he tells of fortunes that are being made by the raising of celery and cabbages and early fruits.

There are many instances which we might add to show the growth and industrial activity of the New South. New Orleans has risen to second rank in the country as an export city, surpassed only by New York. Six great railroads make the city their terminus, while steamship lines extend from New Orleans to all parts of the world.

A large part of this commercial activity has come as a result of the improvement of the river mouth. The Mississippi brings down vast quantities of mud, which, as the river broadens at the mouth and the current slackens, are deposited, filling up the channels. Heavy draft ships could not ascend to the city, and various plans were considered for deepening the water way. James B. Eads, an engineer of ability, proposed to Congress to deepen the channels by means of the "jetty system." The building of jetties would make the channels narrower, thus producing a swift current which by its own action would wash away the deposits and clear the channel. Congress, though reluctantly, finally gave Eads permission to make the attempt on one of the channels; his work was completed in 1879, and was a complete success.

The industrial growth of the South has been shown by several

interesting and instructive exhibitions of Southern products. The Cotton Centennial Exposition at New Orleans, in 1884, marked a century since the first bale of cotton was exported from America, in 1784. The Cotton States Exposition, held at Atlanta, followed in 1895; the Southern States and West India Exposition was held at Charleston, in 1901; and the Jamestown Exposition, in 1907, celebrated the close of the third century since the settlement of Virginia. All of these served to show the people of the whole country the great natural wealth of the South and the wonderful industrial advance made by the Southern people.

The educational progress of the South has been no less marked than its industrial growth. Before the war, free public schools were almost unknown in the slave states. Now every state of the South maintains public schools for both negro and white children. Large sums have been given by charitable people for the teaching of the negroes, and much is being done along the line of industrial education. Schools at Hampton in Virginia and at Tuskegee in Alabama have become famous for their work — not alone in giving the negroes “book learning,” but in teaching them how to live and how to work. The name of Booker T. Washington has become familiar throughout the land; he is a leader of his people, aiming to educate them into industrial independence.

The “negro problem” still confronts the South. But the progress the race is making insures a safer solution of the problem than seemed probable in the reconstruction days.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The changes in the South since the war seem largely the result of the change from slave to free labor. No longer limited to raising cotton, the Southern people have developed the great natural resources of their country. Cotton manufacturing, iron working, coal mining, market gardening, have all brought wealth into the South.

2. The commerce of New Orleans has attained wonderful growth since the improvement of the mouth of the Mississippi; this work was done by James B. Eads.

3. Free education in the South has done much to change the condition of both "poor whites" and negroes.

THINGS TO READ

The World's Work, June, 1907 (Southern number).

THINGS TO DO

1. Find the meaning of *diversified*, *complex*, *pig iron*, *terminus*, *industrial education*.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

The New South.

(Write in the form of a composition as many of the facts in regard to the development of the South since the war as you can remember. Outside facts gathered from your reading should be included.)

XXX

POLITICS SINCE THE WAR

I. GRANT'S PRESIDENCY

THE settlement by the war of all questions pertaining to slavery has made possible a new Union — one in which no section is hostile to any other, and in which questions of national rather than sectional importance have occupied the attention of the political world.

With the exception of two presidential terms, the Republican party has been uniformly successful in electing the President since 1860. It has not always been successful in controlling both houses, however, so that sometimes full power has been denied it; but on the whole it has been a period of Republican rule.

General Grant, elected in 1868, served for two terms, but he was somewhat out of his element in a political atmosphere, and
Grant as judged men less acutely than he judged military situations. His term of service was marred by much
President corruption in office; and while nobody doubted Grant's own honesty, it was believed that unscrupulous politicians had a good deal of influence with him and used this influence to further their own ends. Corruption seemed to have entered all departments of public life. In New York the infamous "Tweed ring" gained absolute control of the city government, and voted into their own pockets hundreds of millions of dollars before the people of the city realized what was going on. In other cities conditions were almost as bad. State governments were corrupted; bribery was charged against congressmen, and even against a member of the Cabinet.

Many men who were far above bribery or corruption were more or less moved by the spirit of speculation, which was widespread at this time. You will remember that business at the North had been stimulated by the demands of the war, and that ~~financial~~ many fortunes had been made in supplying these ~~conditions~~ demands. Now that the war was over, new enterprises were sought, and the desire to get rich quickly overcame the judgment

The Capitol, Washington

of many business men. It was the old story of Jackson's time repeated.

Many causes combined to produce a scarcity of money. In 1871 a terrible fire raged in Chicago for three days, destroying two million dollars' worth of property. In 1872 a like disaster overtook Boston.

Great sums of money were required to rebuild these cities, and much was withdrawn from other enterprises for this purpose. Another cause for scarcity was the great amount of railroad building going on. Many of these roads could give no return for many years for the money invested in them, until settlements grew up along their path through the wilderness. Quarrels be-

tween railroad companies and farmers who wished lower freight rates added to the reluctance which people were beginning to feel toward investing in railroad bonds. Bankers holding these bonds for sale could not find purchasers.

The failure of the firm of Jay Cooke and Company was the beginning of the trouble which was sure to come. This firm had been of great service to the government during the war, obtaining loans and selling government bonds; and it was considered one of the strongest financial firms in the country. Its failure carried many other business men to ruin, and the "Black Friday" on which it occurred was a terrible day in New York and, indeed, in many other places. During the years 1873 and 1874 over ten thousand business failures took place.

The unsettled and depressing condition of the country led to much dissatisfaction with the party in power. Already, at the New political parties election of 1872, new parties had begun to appear — the Liberal Republicans, who opposed Grant's re-election; the Labor Reform party, which was formed to uphold the rights of the workingman; and the Prohibition party, which wished to make the liquor-selling question a political one, and to subordinate all other questions to it. The Republicans, however, continued in power.

In 1876 there was grave doubt as to the ability of the party to retain its control. The presence of new parties in the field, the "hard times," the corruption in government officials, all combined to cause dissatisfaction with Republican rule. The great Currency question of this campaign was in regard to the currency. There was still in circulation more than three hundred millions in paper money, issued in war time. Some people believed that this should be withdrawn, and only gold or Election of 1876 silver be used as legal tender. Others believed that even more paper money should be issued, and the "Greenback party" was formed to advocate this. The Republican candidate was Rutherford B. Hayes, thrice governor of

Ohio; the Democrats named Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, who had won national fame by his able leadership in the movement against the Tweed ring, and who was now governor of New York.

The election was very close, and for the first time in our history the result was disputed. In three Southern states both sides claimed the victory, and the result of the whole election turned upon the returns from these states. There seemed little hope of settling the matter in Congress, where the Senate was Republican and the House since 1874 had had a majority of Democrats.

At length Congress voted to refer the matter to an Electoral Commission, composed of five senators, five representatives, and five judges of the Supreme Court. There was much discussion as to who these judges should be, and it was decided to choose two Democrats and two Republicans, leaving them to choose the fifth judge themselves. This was done, and the fifteen members of the commission met and undertook to settle the disputed points.

Rutherford B. Hayes
President, 1877-1881.

Great excitement and bitter feeling prevailed throughout the country. When, however, the decision was made in favor of Hayes, it was accepted calmly by the Democrats, although it was evident from the vote that the decision was purely a partisan one. The decision was not reached until March 2, and Hayes was duly inaugurated on the 4th.

II. CURRENCY QUESTIONS

On January 1, 1879, according to a law passed in Grant's administration, "specie payment" was resumed by the government. After that date, holders of greenbacks or paper money could, if

they wished, have them exchanged by the government for gold. This act of course established a firm value for the greenbacks. For the first time since the war they were "as good as gold."

Money questions, however, still remained to occupy the attention of the country and Congress. The question of the coinage of silver has been before the country many times and has figured as an issue in several presidential campaigns. It is impossible for young students to go into the questions of coinage and currency very deeply. A few of the facts bearing on the silver question,

The Mint, Philadelphia

however, we may study with profit. The principal facts in the history of silver coinage in the United States are these:—

1. In 1792 a double unit of money value was established by law — a gold dollar and a silver dollar, with fifteen times as much silver in the latter as gold in the former — that is, with a ratio of 15 to 1.
2. In 1834, because of a decrease in the value of silver, this ratio was changed to 16 to 1.
3. After the discovery of gold in California the value of gold dropped, and silver dollars came to be worth more than gold dollars. This led to the disappearance of silver dollars from circulation. They were worth more as bullion than as coin.
4. In 1873 Congress stopped the coinage of the silver dollar.

5. The opening of silver mines in the West led to greatly increased production of silver. Miners wished to have their silver coined at the mints. Several "free coinage" bills were defeated in Congress.

6. In 1878 Congress resumed the coinage of silver dollars, at the old ratio of 16 to 1. The law required the government to buy at least two million dollars' worth of silver a month, and make it into dollars. Since these dollars are heavy and clumsy



Machinery used for Coinage

to handle in business, the law provided that they might be stored in the Treasury, and paper "silver certificates" put into circulation in their place. (The Bland-Allison Law.)

7. Efforts were still made to obtain free coinage. In 1890 the law was again changed. Henceforth the government was to buy 4,500,000 ounces of silver a month, and pay for it with Treasury notes which the holders might have redeemed in gold or silver if they wished. (The Sherman Law.)

8. In order to be at all times ready to redeem in gold the Treasury notes as well as the old greenbacks, a large "gold reserve" was necessary in the Treasury. This kept much gold out of circulation. It became scarce. People began to fear that the

government could not get gold enough to pay its constantly increasing gold obligations. A fear grew that it would begin to pay in silver.

Silver being plenty was no longer worth a sixteenth of the value of gold. Few people were willing to accept silver dollars as equal in value to gold. Business suffered, and these causes, combined

The Counting Room at the Mint, Philadelphia, Pa.

with others, brought about a financial panic in 1893. President Cleveland summoned Congress in special session to relieve the situation; Congress stopped the buying of silver.

This roused the wrath of the silver men in the West, and the old cry of free coinage at 16 to 1 was raised. In the next presidential campaign, free silver was the leading issue. For some time both Democrats and Republicans had been avoiding the silver question for fear of causing a split in their ranks. For there were silver Democrats and gold Democrats, as there were silver Republicans and gold Republicans. But the silver question would be put off no longer. There was a struggle in the convention of each party, ending in the advocacy of the gold

standard by the Republicans, while the Democrats voted to support free silver. In each case the split which had been dreaded came, and there was a great amount of independent voting in the election. The campaign was an interesting one. People were anxious to form correct judgments on the silver question, and the country was flooded with campaign documents explaining the position of each party. William J. Bryan, the Democratic candidate, was defeated. William McKinley, the Republican nominee, became President March 4, 1897. The nation had thus declared for the gold standard, and since this time the question of free silver has received slight attention.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. In the presidential campaign of 1896, the silver question was the important issue. The people voted to sustain the gold standard.

III. THE TARIFF

The years which witnessed the agitation of the coinage question have seen also various attempts to adjust the tariff to please now this party or faction, now that. The tariff question, we must remember, was in the days before the war one of the causes leading to bitterness between the North and the South. The Democratic party, to which most Southern voters belonged, was early pledged to the principle of tariff for revenue only, while the National Republicans, the Whigs, and the Republicans, in turn were advocates of a tariff which should protect American industries. In the early days, when the South was a strictly farming section, the tariff question did much to increase the sectional character of the two parties.

Tariff legislation up to Jackson's time we have already studied. Since that time, its history is briefly as follows:—

1. In 1833 the Compromise tariff was passed to quiet Southern opposition to protection. It provided for a gradual yearly

reduction of duties until 1842, after which they were to remain stationary.

2. In 1842 government revenues were less than expenses. Congress passed a new tariff act; still, however, for revenue only.

3. In 1857 a reduction was again made, until duties were lower than at any time since 1816.

4. In 1861 the Republican party came into power. Pledged to the principle of protection, the Republicans passed the Morrill protective tariff. It was increased twice during the year, less for protection, however, than for war expenses.

5. The war threw the tariff question into the background. Not until 1880 did it again become an active issue. By that time the revenue was far greater than government expenses, and there was a constantly increasing surplus in the Treasury. The Democratic platform in the campaign of 1880 called for tariff reform. The Republicans, however, were successful in the election, and although a bill to reduce the tariff was passed in 1882, the reduction was very slight.

6. In the presidential campaign of 1884, the Democratic platform promised a real reduction of the tariff. The Republican platform pledged that party to reduce the surplus, but still declared for protection. For the first time since the war, the Democrats elected their candidate for President. President Cleveland's first message to Congress recommended reduction, and his message of 1887 was entirely taken up with discussion of the tariff question. The surplus was now nearly one hundred and forty million dollars. Cleveland declared the existing tariff laws "vicious, inequitable, and illogical." After this message, the House passed a tariff bill known as the Mills bill, which it was estimated would reduce the surplus by fifty million dollars. It did not pass the Senate, the Democrats lacking the necessary majority. And in the next year's election the Democrats lost their power.

7. When Benjamin Harrison became President in 1889, he was supported by Republican majorities in both House and Senate.

In 1890 the McKinley tariff bill was passed; it reduced the revenue by sixty million dollars yearly, but it maintained the principle of protection by increasing duties on such goods as came into competition with American products. The reduction was obtained by placing on the free list all things not produced in America.

This tariff law included a clause authorizing the making of reciprocity treaties with countries which were willing to grant us favorable tariff regulations. Several of these treaties were made. This reciprocity clause was inserted largely through the influence of James G. Blaine, at this time Secretary of State.

Benjamin Harrison
President, 1889-1893.

8. In 1893 the Democrats returned to power, with Cleveland again as President. In 1894 the Wilson tariff law reduced duties about one quarter; sufficient revenue was to be insured by a tax on incomes which exceeded four thousand dollars a year. The Supreme Court declared this income tax unconstitutional, and the revenue produced under the Wilson law was not sufficient to meet government expenses. By the end of Cleveland's second term the national debt had been increased by more than two hundred and sixty millions.

James G. Blaine
For many years a Republican leader; a brilliant orator, and a great diplomat. He was nominated for President in 1884, but was defeated by Cleveland.

9. In 1896 the Republicans returned to power, with William McKinley as President. He immediately called an extra session of Congress to consider the tariff question. The Dingley tariff bill, closely copied from the McKinley Act, but with slightly lower duties, was passed.

In the campaign preceding the election of 1908, the tariff was a prominent issue, both parties promising reform in case of election. The Republicans being successful, President Taft called a special session of Congress immediately after taking his seat, for the purpose of tariff revision. The new law, passed in August, 1909, was a disappointment to many. There were minor changes but not the real "revision downward" which had been expected.

The victory of the Democratic party in the election of 1912 gave promise of a real reduction. This promise has been redeemed in the Underwood law passed in September, 1913.

A Democratic Congress has in this law made sweeping reductions and has placed many necessities on the free list. A tax upon incomes, made possible by elections and amendments, is also a feature of the law.

The question of "free trade or protection" is one which must come to interest you as you grow older and take your places among the men and women of the future. The arguments in favor of each are perhaps too difficult for you to understand now, and the record of tariff legislation you have just read you cannot expect to remember in its details, but you can remember what each party stands for, and that some trial has been made of each system. The Republicans have had almost unbroken power since 1861, and in consequence the country stands to-day as a strong protectionist nation. Whether or not it will continue thus, we cannot say. It may be that you will be among those who will some day decide the future policy of the nation.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The Republicans, having been in power for many years, have made the United States a strong protectionist nation.
2. The Democrats, believing in tariff for revenue only, continue to demand tariff reform.

IV. CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

Other important political questions which have come up since the war are connected with the civil service, with capital and labor, and with our relations with foreign nations.

The civil service we must understand as including thousands of government officials in many departments, from important custom house officials to department or village postmasters' clerks. All of these civil servants are, by the authority of the Constitution, appointed by the President, "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." The spoils system, since its beginning in Jackson's time, had by 1860 grown to vast proportions, until not only the great offices but minor clerkships and fourth-rate post-offices were considered as spoils. There were few if any civil servants who did not tremble when a change of power came.

The evils of such a system were many. Appointments made for political reasons could not always fall upon the people best fitted to do the work. The uncertainty of continuing in office, or rather the practical certainty of losing office in case of a change of power, was not likely to bring out a person's best work. Many officeholders were far more active in politics than in civil service. Perhaps worst of all was the custom which had grown up of demanding campaign contributions from officeholders, on the ground that those who did not aid in keeping in power the party by which they had received office, would lose their positions.

Office seekers came to be a constant and great annoyance to incoming Presidents. Throngs of "friends of the party" clamored for attention, each claiming that he had contributed to the victory, and demanding office as a reward.

For many years these things went on with scarcely a protest. But after the war, public opinion began to be roused to the fact that the public service ought to be apart from and above the petty scheming of politicians — that clerks and postmasters,

revenue officers and consuls, should be selected for their fitness for their work, and, once appointed and trained in their duties, should be retained as long as their work was well and faithfully done.

Congress had little sympathy with such sentiments as these, but the movement grew too strong to be ignored, and in 1871 Congress was compelled to take some action. The President was authorized to appoint a Civil Service Commission, which should prescribe rules for admission to the civil service. This was the first victory for Civil Service Reform.

President Grant appointed the commission, but the opposition of the politicians was bitter, and after less than four years'

trial the plan was abandoned. In 1877, however, a Civil Service Reform Association was organized in New York, which went to work at once to strengthen public opinion in favor of reform. Meetings were held, magazine articles published, and the newspapers constantly employed to keep the question before the people. The association was soon enlarged into a national one, and its force began to be felt. The election of 1880 showed the spoils system at its worst. The Republican candidate, James A. Garfield, was elected, and scarcely had he taken his seat when trouble arose between him and the New York senators over appoint-

James A. Garfield
Elected President, 1880; in office
from March to September,
1881, when he died.

ments, while the rush for office was unusually great, even though there had been no change of party. In four months Garfield removed eighty-nine officeholders, appointing in their places men from another faction of the party. Exposure of corruption in the post-office department added to the feeling now everywhere aroused. Then suddenly the news was flashed over the country that the President had been assassinated by a disap-

pointed office seeker. The spoils system had found a victim, and the country could not choose but take heed.

Garfield, who was shot on July 2, 1881, lingered between life and death for more than two months. He died on September 19, the Vice President, Chester A. Arthur, taking the oath of office on the following day. To the surprise of the reformers, Arthur at once showed an earnest desire to improve conditions in the service. Public sentiment now strongly demanded the long-delayed reform, and January, 1883, saw the Civil Service Reform Act become a law.

Under this law the President was given power to establish the following system:—

Employees of the government were to be classified in grades; to be appointed and promoted from lists prepared on the basis of competitive examination; to receive probationary and later permanent appointments.

Chester A. Arthur
Elected Vice President, 1880;
became President in 1881
upon Garfield's death; served
until 1885.

The law prohibited recommendations for place by members of Congress; it also forbade assessment of employees or contributions by them for political purposes.

Before the end of President Arthur's term, over fifteen thousand government employees were brought under these rules. Further application of the rules was made later, but the condition of the service is still far from the ideal. Each President since Arthur has received more or less criticism for yielding to the "spoilsmen," but since the victory of 1883 public opinion has slackened its energy, so that the politicians no longer feel its pressure. It is probable that another awakening of the public conscience must come before our civil service can be placed above suspicion or reproach. This, like the tariff, will be one of the problems of your day.

V. LABOR PROBLEMS

Perhaps the very greatest and most troublesome of the questions before the American people in the period since the war have been those connected with the relation of capital and labor. Labor, as we use it here, means really wage earners who are employed by individuals, companies, or corporations. Capital is the term used in speaking of employers — the men who provide the money to carry on a business, who hire the workmen, and who regulate and dispose of the product of their work. In the early days of the nation, little was heard of trouble between employers and employed, chiefly because difficulties were individual affairs in those days of small concerns and few men. Trades unions were sometimes formed, modeled after those of England, but their influence was small.

Many things occurred, however, to change conditions among workingmen. The great increase of the factory method brought large bodies of workmen together, all working under much the same conditions. The universal employment of machinery lessened the necessity for skilled hand workers. Living conditions grew worse as communities grew larger. In fewer cases was discontent individual. The grievance of one was the grievance of all. The unions became more numerous.

After the war, agitation was begun for a reduction of the working day to eight hours, and for other improvements in the condition of the workingman. There began to be bitterness of feeling between "labor" and "capital."

To force employers into granting the demands of the workmen, the strike and the boycott began to be used. Sometimes thousands of men left their work at the command of the union, and when their employers brought in new men to take their places the strikers used violent means to prevent any work being done. Mills or mines would stand idle, or railroad traffic would cease, until one side or the other yielded. The police often found it

impossible to keep order, and the militia sometimes had to be called out.

The boycott aimed to reach the same end by compelling all members of the union to refuse the goods of the offending employer; and as the unions grew and banded together, this was often an effective weapon.

In the years immediately following the panic of 1873, workmen felt the business depression keenly. Their employers were making little if any profit, and wages were cut down until many workmen could barely live; others — thousands of them — were thrown out of employment entirely. In 1877 a railroad strike occurred which was felt in fourteen states. The trouble began with a reduction of wages on the Baltimore and Railroad Ohio Road; and the disorder attending the strike ~~strike, 1877~~ was greatly increased by the discontent of other railroad employees under similar conditions, and by the idle men numerous everywhere.

Pittsburg, a great railroad center, suffered most from the mob. Frantic with rage, the strikers and their sympathizers stopped trains, burned railroad buildings, locomotives, and cars, the flames spreading so that the whole city barely escaped destruction. The loss was estimated at not less than ten million dollars. The whole country east of the Mississippi suffered enough to bring the labor question sharply before the people. The same year a widespread coal strike was accompanied by riots. In 1880 about five thousand miners in the West took part in a strike resulting in a four million dollar loss.

The Knights of Labor, a national organization, had now (1882) one hundred and forty thousand members. By 1886 it numbered more than seven hundred thousand. No year was without its labor troubles. In 1886 the number of strikes was more than twice as many as in any previous year. Most of these were for increased wages or for shorter hours. One railroad strike which lasted seven weeks and stopped traffic on six thousand miles of

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road was undertaken because of the discharge of a single workman, a Knight of Labor.

A serious street-railroad strike occurred in New York in this year; but the worst trouble was in Chicago, where about sixty

The Ruins after the Pittsburg Riots

thousand workers struck. Matters were made much worse by a band of anarchists, who seized every chance to press their doctrines upon the crowds who gathered in the streets. The destruction of all government was the anarchists' demand, and their speeches were violent against all in authority. At one street meeting the police interfered, and

The Chicago
anarchists,
1886

the anarchists retaliated by throwing a bomb among the police, killing seven and wounding sixty.

The whole country was thrown into excitement by this occurrence in Chicago, and all felt that a new trouble was now to be met — anarchy. In April, 1886, President Cleveland had sent a special message to Congress on the labor situation — the first presidential message on a labor question in the history of the country. But Congress was able to do little to help matters.

In 1892 occurred an ironworkers' strike at Homestead, Pennsylvania, in which several people were killed. Over a hundred thousand coal miners in Pennsylvania struck for higher wages in 1900, and again in 1902, when the contest lasted long enough to cause discomfort and even suffering throughout the country for lack of coal. Its price more than doubled, and in some places it was almost impossible to get at any price. The labor question thus came to affect people who heretofore had taken little interest in it.

During the twenty years ending in 1900, nearly twenty-four thousand strikes are recorded. The American Federation of Labor, which has largely taken the place of the Knights of Labor, in 1905 numbered about two million members. Much has been accomplished by the various unions. Working hours are more reasonable, wages are better; sanitary regulations have improved the health of workmen in many trades, and have greatly lessened deaths from that dread disease, consumption. Child labor, once entirely unrestricted, is now in many states carefully regulated by law. With union has undoubtedly come strength to the workman. The labor question and the labor vote can no longer be overlooked. Since the appearance of the Labor Reform Party in the national election of 1868 there has always been a labor party in the field, but as yet no labor candidate has received high office.

The tendency of capital to combine has been no less marked during recent years than that of labor. Instead of the numerous

competing companies of earlier days, we have now in many cases great corporations, which have crushed competition by absorbing into one the rival companies. Instead of forty or fifty telegraph companies, there is now the Western Union, with offices all over the country. Instead of hundreds of oil producers, we have the Standard Oil Company. In 1901 was organized the most gigantic business combination the world has ever seen, the United States Steel Corporation.

The power of these trusts is great. One of the questions before the country is their regulation, that they may not use their power to gain undue profits or raise the prices of the necessities of life. The regulation of trusts is far too complicated a question for you yet, but you must know that it is one of the questions now demanding attention, and about which you must later become informed.

In closing this account of political movements since the war, we must conclude that the problems before us are no longer those of earlier days. They are social and industrial, rather than political in the older sense. And they will force themselves upon the nation until their solution is found.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. Important questions concerning capital and labor are before the country awaiting solution.
2. We must try to see these questions from both sides.

XXXI

FOREIGN RELATIONS SINCE THE WAR

THE foreign relations of the United States government since the war would form quite a book by themselves, if we had time to study them in detail. Even a slight account of them, however, will show us that questions of importance have come up, and that the influence of the United States has steadily grown.

While the war was in progress the French emperor, Napoleon III, showed plainly his hostility toward the American government and his sympathy with the South. The French government would have been quick to follow England if that government had recognized the Confederacy, although the French were not quite willing to do this alone.

Napoleon at this time was dreaming the old dream of French empire in the New World, and the break-up of the Union would have helped along his plans. It was Mexico upon which the hope of empire was built — Mexico, still weak, now torn and distracted by internal war, and in the power of the French through her inability to repay French loans to her unhappy government. French soldiers were sent to Mexico late in 1861, and their true purpose — to destroy the Mexican government — was soon seen.

The American government protested against the interference of France with the political affairs of Mexico, asserting once more the Monroe Doctrine; but France feared the protest of the United States but little, since the United States was not in a position to enforce her demands. The French soldiers soon gained control of affairs in Mexico; the republic was declared at an end,

and an empire proclaimed, of which Maximilian, a prince of Austria, was invited to become the head.

During the Civil War, the United States made no move to force the removal of the French troops. But when the Confederacy had fallen, there was leisure and there were troops to attend to the affair. Feeling for the sister republic, Mexico, was strong in the United States, and our state department no longer protested—it rather demanded that France withdraw her troops. And Napoleon decided to withdraw. The French empire in Mexico

was then of short duration. The Monroe Doctrine had been enforced.

Immediately after the war the state department negotiated with Russia for the purchase of Russian America, now known as Alaska. The purchase was made in

Far Seals among the Rocks near the Coast of One of the Pribilof Islands

1867, the United States paying seven million two hundred thousand dollars for nearly six hundred thousand square miles of territory.

Alaska has proved a very good purchase. Its fisheries are of great value, its seal rookeries are the most extensive in the world, and the discovery of gold has brought about a rush to the far North like that to California in earlier days.

One of the early questions taken up by the state department was that of England's responsibility for the damage done by the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers built and fitted out at English ports. After several years of discussion, England agreed to submit the question to a Board of Arbitration. This board,

meeting at Geneva, Switzerland, decided that England must pay fifteen million five hundred thousand dollars to the American government. This was done without protest, thus closing a long-standing subject of dispute.

During the administration of Cleveland two matters of importance in our relations with foreign nations came up. In January, 1893, only two months before the end of Harrison's term, a revolution in Hawaii resulted in the overthrow of the queen's party and the establishment of a provisional government which at once proposed annexation to the United States. There were many reasons why this arrangement should be desired, and a treaty was at once made and submitted to the Senate. Before the Senate had ratified it, however, President Cleveland had come into office. To the surprise of many, he at once withdrew the treaty from the Senate, and sent a commissioner to Hawaii to examine into the facts concerning the revolution there. Upon the report of this commissioner the President decided that the treaty should not be returned to the Senate. He believed he had evidence that the revolutionists would not have succeeded had it not been for aid from the American minister and from an American warship. If that were true, he argued, the original government ought to be restored.

The proposed
annexation of
Hawaii, 1893

Grover Cleveland
President, 1885-1889; 1893-
1897.

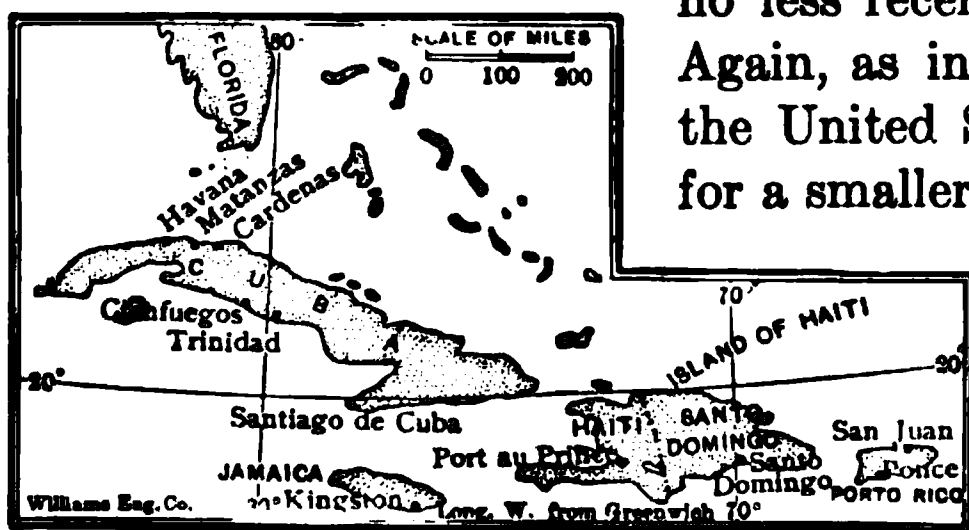
There was much disappointment in both Hawaii and the United States, and many Americans professed indignation at "having the flag hauled down" where it had once waved. President Cleveland showed in this affair a firmness with which the politicians had not credited him; and it did not add to his popularity with them. In 1895, he again astonished them by a "vigorous policy"

in interpreting and applying the Monroe Doctrine. Venezuela and Great Britain had long been at odds in regard to a boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana, her eastern neighbor. Venezuela was willing to submit the question to arbitration, but England would not agree. It was even feared by Venezuela that England would resort to force, and the protection of the United States was asked.

The state department took the matter up, once more proposing arbitration, which England once more declined. Upon this the President asked Congress to authorize the appointment of a commission to determine the boundary, adding in his message, "I am fully alive to the responsibility incurred, and keenly realize all the consequences that may follow." This calm decision that the United States should mark the boundary of an English colony, and compel England to accept her marking, startled both England and America. Such a course might easily mean war, and relief was felt on all sides when England at last agreed to arbitrate.

Settlement of international disputes by arbitration is becoming more frequent. But even our own country has been involved

no less recently than 1898 in a war. Again, as in the Venezuela dispute, the United States demanded justice for a smaller, weaker neighbor.



The West Indies

Spain, the discoverer and early colonizer of the New World, was no longer the mighty power of the sixteenth century. We have seen her stripped of

her possessions in North America, and a history of the southern continent would tell the same story. Of the great empire of early days nothing remained but Cuba and Porto Rico, and in the latter half of the nineteenth

century her hold upon these beautiful islands had grown very weak.

Misgovernment and oppression drove the Cubans to revolt; and rebellion moved the Spaniards to still further misgovernment and oppression. Wave after wave of rebellion swept over the island, never successful, yet leaving the Cubans each time more determined to gain independence. Six times within fifty years the Cubans rose against their Spanish masters. From 1868 to 1878 occurred what is known as the "Ten Years' War." Spain was making again the same mistake which she had made through centuries — that of believing that colonies exist only for the advantage of the mother country.

Through the long years of Cuban struggle the people of America looked on — with irritation at the breaking up of their Cuban commerce, with sympathy for the oppressed colonists, with horror at the cruelty of Spain. For the worst feature of Spanish efforts to put down rebellion was the resort to barbarous and almost inhuman methods of warfare. In 1895 a new uprising took place, and all previous cruelty was surpassed by the conduct of the Spanish troops. General Weyler, the Spanish cap- The cruelty
tain general, made war not only upon Cuban men in of General
revolt, but upon every Cuban man, woman, and child Weyler
on the island. His soldiers were sent out through the country, burning buildings and crops, making farms into wildernesses, the soldiers driving the people before them like sheep into the cities. There they were huddled together in great pens, with no floor but the ground, no furniture, little clothing, under the foulest and most unhealthful of conditions. Hundreds of thousands died, and those who lived on were but wrecks of human beings. The whole world was shocked at such barbarity.

The Cubans found ready sympathy in the United States. In spite of international laws of neutrality, expeditions to carry arms and supplies to the insurgents were fitted out in American ports. The government made every effort to stop these, but many times

they eluded all pursuit. Congress voted fifty thousand dollars to relieve the suffering of American citizens in Cuba, and the Red Cross Society sent to Cuba thousands of dollars, as well as many men and women anxious to relieve the distress.

Spain bitterly resented this sympathy with her rebellious colony, and through her ambassador protested against it. The American government made several ineffectual attempts to induce Spain to give Cuba independence. The bitterness of feeling increased.

Believing that the presence of an American warship in the harbor at Havana might guard American interests in the island, the battleship *Maine* was ordered to make a "friendly visit" to Cuba. She entered the harbor of Havana, January 25, 1898, being received with outward courtesy. Three weeks later the world was startled by the news that a terrific explosion had destroyed the *Maine* while yet in the harbor, killing two hundred and sixty of her crew. The cause of the *Maine's* destruction may never be known. It may have been done by some Spaniard who believed that he was serving his country; or it may have been the deed of Cuban insurgents, who wished to rouse the American government to declare war upon Spain; or it may have been, as the Spanish board of inquiry reported, an explosion from within the ship.

Whatever its cause, the destruction of the *Maine*, coming just at this time, roused popular feeling to a pitch such as had not been known since the firing on Fort Sumter. The whole country cried out for war. The two months immediately following the great disaster on February 15 witnessed a great outburst of patriotism. The flag was seen on every hand; the national airs were played nightly in the theaters to deeply moved audiences. An intense new interest in the Cubans sprang up. Their flag — red, white, and blue like our own — was displayed with the Stars and Stripes in many places. The war fever ran high. "Remem-

ber the *Maine*" became the watchword. Congress waited with impatience for the President to act.

But President McKinley, himself a war veteran, hesitated to bring on a war until every means of peaceful settlement had been tried, even though Congress and the country were impatient. At last, however, on April 11, he sent a message to Congress in which he said, "In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests, which give us the right and the duty to speak and act, the war in Cuba must stop."

Congress at once followed the President's lead; Spain was warned that she must withdraw from Cuba. The Spanish minister immediately left Washington, and the American minister was ordered to leave Spain. Preparations for war were begun.

William McKinley
President, 1897-1901. He
was assassinated in 1901,
soon after beginning his
second term.

Two hundred and fifty thousand volunteers were called for. Four or five times as many were anxious to go. The troops were rapidly gathered in camps for instruction, and supplies with which to fit them out were collected. The navy was strengthened by the purchase or charter of many vessels. All sorts of craft — yachts, merchant steamers, ocean liners — were put into commission for active service or coast defense.

The navy in-
creased and
strengthened

The coast of Cuba was blockaded and a watch begun for the Spanish fleet which would surely come to the rescue of the Spanish troops. Orders were sent to our squadron in the east to attack the Spanish fleet in the Philippines, and it was there on the other side of the world that the first blow was struck at Spanish power.

Commodore George Dewey, in command of the Pacific fleet, set out at once on receipt of his orders to engage the Spanish fleet in the Philippines in battle. Leaving Hongkong on April 27,

less than a week after war began, he reached Manila Bay, where he believed his enemy to be, on the night of April 30.

Sailing silently into the harbor in the darkness, Dewey with his six ships braved the dangers of submarine torpedoes and gave battle to the Spanish ships at dawn. In some respects this was one of the most wonderful naval battles in history. Four hours sufficed to destroy every one of the eleven Spanish ships, to silence and destroy the

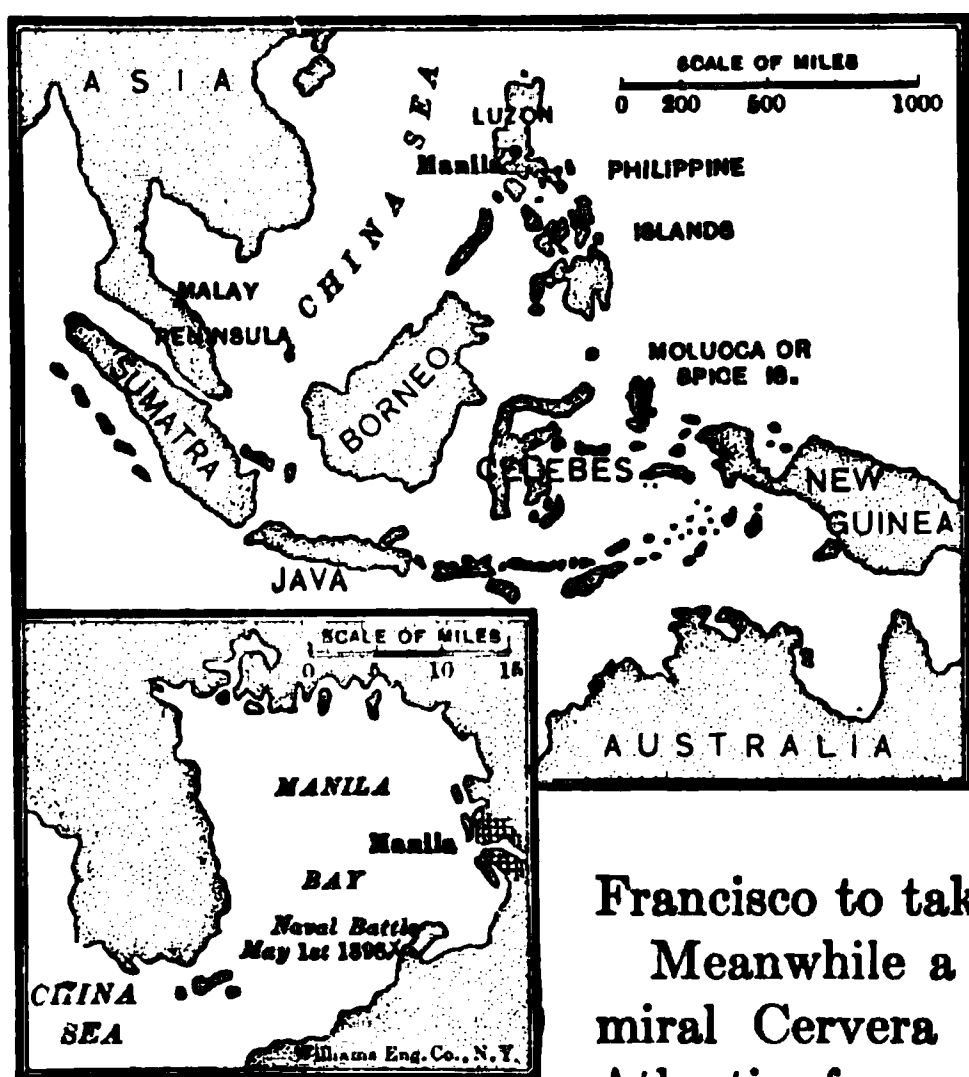
shore batteries, without the loss of a ship or even of a man on the American side, though hundreds of Spaniards were killed or wounded.

This victory cleared the Pacific of Spanish ships, and Dewey had only to remain on guard until troops could be sent across the Pacific from San

Francisco to take and hold the islands.

Meanwhile a Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera had set sail across the Atlantic from Spain, and all America was anxiously awaiting knowledge of

its destination. A sort of terror seized the whole Atlantic coast watching for lest the fleet might attack one of our coast cities. All sorts of rumors were heard. Admiral Sampson with a fleet of vessels patrolled Cuban waters, but no Spanish ships were seen. Then came news that Cervera had entered the harbor of Santiago on the southern coast of Cuba.



The Philippine Islands

Sampson's fleet, to which Commodore Schley's "flying squadron" had been added, at once took position at the mouth of the harbor, which by its shape was especially easy to Cervera's fleet watch. An attempt was made to close the narrow at Santiago opening still further by sinking in the channel a coal ship, the *Merrimac*, but though the daring feat was bravely accomplished, there was still room for the ships to come out.

Watch was kept night and day at the mouth of the harbor; that was all that could be done, for the entrance was heavily mined, and overlooked by forts on the high cliffs. The fleet could only wait until an army could be brought to lend its aid to the destruction of the Spanish ships.

Accordingly sixteen thousand of the impatient soldiers at Tampa under com-

The Dewey Arch

Erected in New York on the occasion of Admiral Dewey's return from the Philippines. His reception was an enthusiastic ovation.

mand of General Shafter set out for Cuba. On the 22d of June these troops landed sixteen miles east of Santiago and began operations to take the city. The climate proved very trying, and the roads almost impassable. But the American soldiers were not disheartened, and pressed on, anxious only to reach the enemy.

The Spaniards contested every step of the way, and the soldiers on both sides displayed great bravery. Lying between the Americans and the city was the fortified hill of San Juan, which must

be taken. No army could hope to hold San Juan, however, until the guns on another hill, El Caney, on the American right, were silenced. El Caney was first attacked, but it took nearly all day to capture it. The troops waiting before San Juan grew impatient. At last the now famous charge up the hill was made.

Across a swamp, through tangled grass and brush, the Americans fought their way, a network of barbed wire fences making

The Santiago Campaign

their progress slow and breaking up all military formation. The firing of the Spaniards on the hill was constant, but the Americans did not turn back. Conspicuous among them were a regiment of colored soldiers and the "Rough Riders," a regiment made up partly of Western cowboys, hunters, and Indians, and partly of college athletes and rich men's sons from the East. Perhaps a company of men more representative of American democracy could not have been found than those who together charged up San Juan Hill; and they did their work well, winning fame for themselves and for their commander, Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt.

When night fell on July 1, El Caney and San Juan were both in American hands, but Spanish attempts to retake them were expected on the morrow. On the second, the fighting was resumed, but the Americans held the position they had gained. The fearful heat, the drenching daily showers — for it was the rainy season — affected the health of the American soldiers seriously. It was feared that they would soon be unable to fight. Santiago yet remained to be taken. General Shafter demanded its surrender, but had little expectation that it would be given up.

The Spanish, however, were more uneasy than the Americans knew. Fearful that the city would be taken and the fleet captured, General Blanco, the Spanish commander, ordered Cervera to make an attempt to escape. Accordingly on Sunday morning, July 3, the news was signaled

United States Battleship Oregon

This ship was on the Pacific coast, in Puget Sound, when the destruction of the *Maine* took place. Being ordered to join Sampson's fleet, she was hurried to the east, making the voyage of 15,000 miles around Cape Horn in fifty-nine days, and arriving in time to assist in the battle of July third.

from one vessel to another of the American fleet that the Spanish ships were slowly steaming down toward the harbor mouth. Soon the black nose of the flagship, the *Maria Teresa*, appeared in the opening, the three armored cruisers and two torpedo boats following closely. They turned directly to the west, firing as they went, while the forts gave what assistance they could.

The Americans on the blockading fleet had watched five weeks for this moment, and they sprang to the work of Naval battle pursuit with the joy of men weary of waiting. In off Santiago, three minutes from the first warning, the guns were July 3, 1898 booming, and the chase was on. We cannot follow the details of

the fight; it is enough to know that again, as at Manila, the skill of "the men behind the guns" on the American ships won the day. One after another the Spanish ships gave up, — burning, driven on the beach, or sunk. Four hundred men lost their lives. Sixteen hundred were made prisoners. And the American fleet lost but a single man.

The destruction of the Spanish fleet changed conditions on shore. Negotiations for surrender were begun, and on the 17th the Spaniards gave up possession of the city. There was no more fighting in Cuba. The Spanish government, acknowledging itself beaten, made advances toward peace. The troops sent to Porto Rico had no need to pursue the conquest of that island. And before the news that fighting was stopped could reach Manila the soldiers sent from San Francisco to take the city had done their work. The war ended on the 12th of August, preliminary terms of peace being agreed upon. Later, the appointed commissioners met at Paris, and a treaty was made which the Senate ratified February 6, 1899. The terms of the treaty follow:—

THE TREATY

SPAIN	THE UNITED STATES
<p><i>Gave</i> to <i>Cuba</i> — independence. to the <i>United States</i>. Porto Rico Guam. Philippine Islands.</p> <p><i>Received</i> \$20,000,000.</p>	<p><i>Gave</i> to <i>Spain</i> — \$20,000,000.</p> <p><i>Received</i> Porto Rico. Guam. Philippine Islands.</p>

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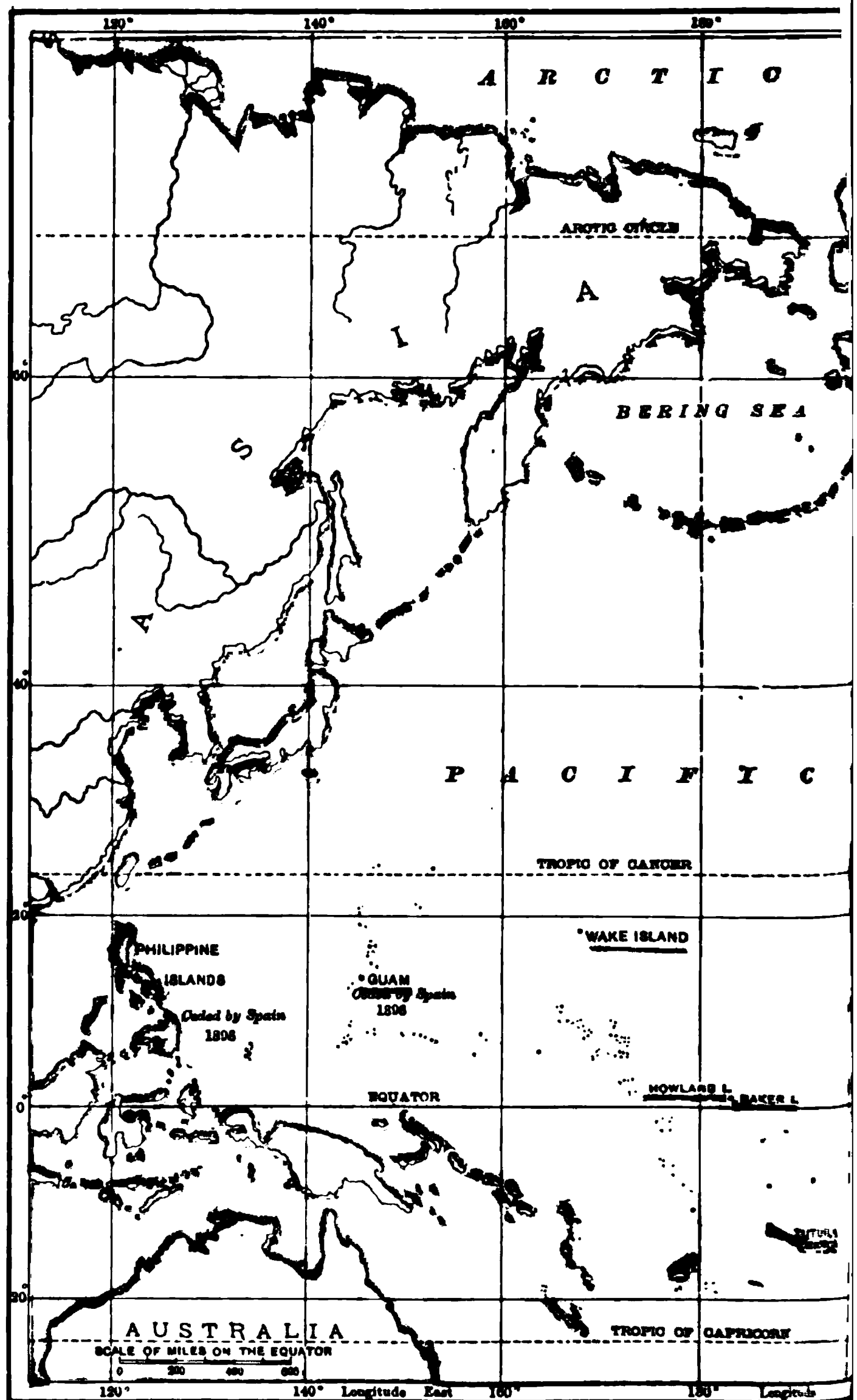
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TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

E UNITED STATES

The war with Spain has, without doubt, changed the position occupied by the United States in international affairs. We hear the expression "America as a world power" used to define this change. It would be perhaps difficult to say just how this came about. It is true that the interference of the United States with Spain's conduct of affairs in Cuba was a departure from the American policy to take no part in European affairs. It is true,

also, that the acquisition of dependencies or colonies on the other side of the world placed the United States in a new position. And it is an evident fact

Theodore Roosevelt
Elected Vice President in 1900; succeeded McKinley as President upon the latter's death in 1901; was elected President in 1904, served 1905-1909.

that the battles of Manila Bay and Santiago greatly increased the respect of foreign nations for the naval power of the United States.

John Hay

One of our great Secretaries of State. Among the achievements associated with his name are the maintenance of the "open door" in China; the settlement of the Alaska boundary; and the Hay-Pauncefote treaty with Great Britain relative to the construction of an interoceanic canal.

The movement toward an international agreement to arbitrate disputes and difficulties between nations is slowly but steadily growing. America has been among the foremost of the nations in using and encouraging others to use arbitration. In 1899, at the invitation of the Czar of

Russia, delegates from twenty-six nations met in a "Peace Conference" at The Hague. It was hoped by many that this conference would inaugurate a movement for the disarmament of

nations, but this proved a vain hope. The leading nations still cling to their immense standing armies and navies, but nevertheless The Hague Conference was productive of good. Its most important result was the creation of a permanent court of arbitration to adjust differences of an international character. This court has since been called upon to settle disputes between Mexico and the United States; between several European states and Venezuela; between European states and Japan; and between Great Britain and France.

A second conference was held at The Hague in 1907 and further steps were taken to promote the cause of peace. In the time between the two conferences, England, Russia, and Japan had each been engaged in a war; but, mindful of the fact that great accomplishments are usually of slow growth, the friends of universal peace are not discouraged. "Disarmament is an ideal to be dreamed of; arbitration is a practical method of avoiding war."

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The United States has taken a position of importance among nations.
2. American intervention caused the French to abandon their plan of a French empire in Mexico.
3. American influence brought about a friendly settlement of a boundary dispute between Venezuela and England.
4. The war with Spain freed Cuba.

THINGS TO READ

1. "The Rescue of Cuba," Draper.
2. "Four American Naval Heroes," Beebe, pp. 195-254.

THINGS TO DO

1. Discuss:
Was the United States justified in its intervention in Cuban affairs?
2. Review territorial history.

OUTLINE

(X The New Union, 1873- .

(Presidents: Grant, 1873-1877; Hayes, 1877-1881; Garfield and Arthur, 1881-1885; Cleveland, 1885-1889; Harrison, 1889-1893; Cleveland, 1893-1897; McKinley, 1897-1901; Roosevelt, 1901-1909; Taft, 1909- .)

- A. The development of the West.**
 - 1. Discovery of silver and gold; improved farming methods; railroad building; opening of public lands to settlers; the Indian question.
- B. Changes in industrial conditions.**
 - 1. Submarine telegraph; telephone; electric lighting; increased manufactures; larger factories; town life increased.
 - 2. Town and city problems.
 - a. Suitable homes in crowded districts.
 - b. Transportation.
 - c. The foreign population; regulation of immigration; making Americans of the foreign-born and their children.
 - 3. Trusts.
- C. The development of the South since the war.**
 - 1. Free labor has proved more profitable than slave labor.
 - 2. Diversified crops pay better than the once universal cotton. The cotton crop has, however, been greatly increased.
 - 3. Manufacturing and other industries once unknown in the South have built up her cities and brought wealth to her people.
- D. Politics since the war.**
 - 1. Grant's administration: corruption, speculation, and financial panic.
 - 2. The disputed election of 1876.
 - 3. Questions which have been (and in most cases are now) political issues.
 - a. The silver question.

The "silver campaign" of 1896; result.
 - b. The tariff.

Pushed out of sight by war; became an issue again in 1880; Democrats attempted reduction in 1888, but the Mills bill failed of passage; McKinley bill (Republican) passed in 1890, high protectionist measure; Wilson bill (Democratic), passed 1894. Duties did not produce revenue enough for expenses; the Dingley bill (Republican) passed 1896. Increased duties again. Democrats called for tariff reform. Payne tariff law of 1909 (Republican) makes few real changes.
 - c. Civil service reform.

The "spoils system": its spread and evil results; movement for reform begun by people, not politicians; the assassination

of Garfield; What has been accomplished; what remains to be done.

d. Labor problems.

- (1) Grievances of workmen.
- (2) Labor organizations — their methods.
- (3) Strikes in their relation to the public.
- (4) Anarchists — Chicago, 1886.
- (5) Combinations of capitalists: trusts — their regulation

e. Foreign relations.

- (1) The French in Mexico.
- (2) The purchase of Alaska.
- (3) The Alabama Claims.
- (4) The Hawaiian Revolution.
- (5) The Venezuela boundary.
- (6) The war with Spain.

a. Causes.

b. Events leading up to war.

c. Events of the war.

The battle of Manila Bay.

The blockade of Cuba.

Cervera's fleet at Santiago.

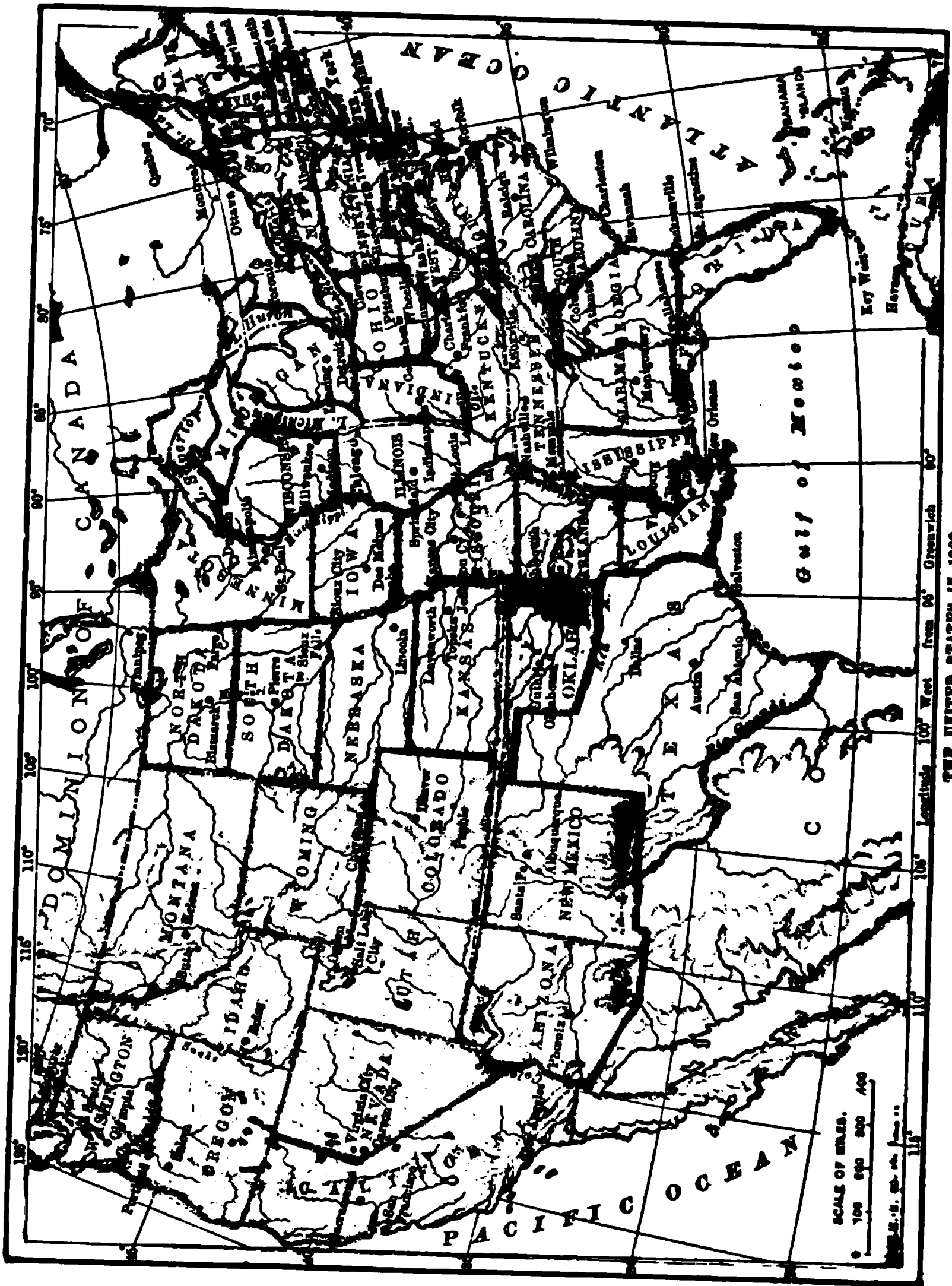
Land campaign at Santiago; El Caney; San Juan.

Destruction of Cervera's fleet.

Capture of Manila.

d. Peace.

e. Results of the war.



THE UNITED STATES IN 1900.

XXXII

AMERICA AS A WORLD POWER

SINCE the Spanish War, American interests and influence have been especially seen in two directions — in the far East, and more recently in Mexico and Central America.

The acquisition of the Philippines brought the United States new problems. The native Filipinos, like the Cubans, had been for several years in rebellion against their Spanish rulers, and they hoped American intervention meant independence for them. When, however, they found that the United States meant to occupy the Philippines permanently, they fought under their native leader, Aguinaldo, against the American army for control of the islands. It was not until 1902 that the last resistance ceased.

William H. Taft
Elected President in 1908.

Much discussion arose as to the form of government to be given the Filipinos. Democratic leaders in Congress protested against holding the islands as colonies or dependencies, but their opinion was not regarded by the Republican majority. The lack of education among the Filipinos, and in most cases of any knowledge of political institutions, made it seem impossible to give them self-government at once. Our government began at once to teach the natives, and to give them an increasing share in the government. The Filipinos now have a legislative assembly with two

delegates to Congress. Schools are well organized, sanitary conditions are greatly improved, and the Philippines seem well started toward future prosperity.

In Porto Rico, a government of much the same type has been established.

Our relations with Cuba since the war have been full of interest. When war was declared, the nations of Europe had little faith in the declaration of Congress that the United States desired no permanent hold on Cuba. But events have shown the good faith of the declaration. On January 1, 1899, the Spanish flag was hauled down in Havana, and the stars and stripes took its place. An American military government was established. The work of sanitation in Cuban cities was begun. A system of education was outlined and schools were established. The warring political parties were gradually brought to a degree of harmony. The United States agreed to withdraw its army from Cuba when a satisfactory constitution should be adopted. Important among the necessary provisions in this constitution were: —

First. That no foreign power should be allowed to gain control over the island.

Second. That Cuba should not exceed her revenues in expenditure.

Third. That Cuba continue the sanitary reforms established.

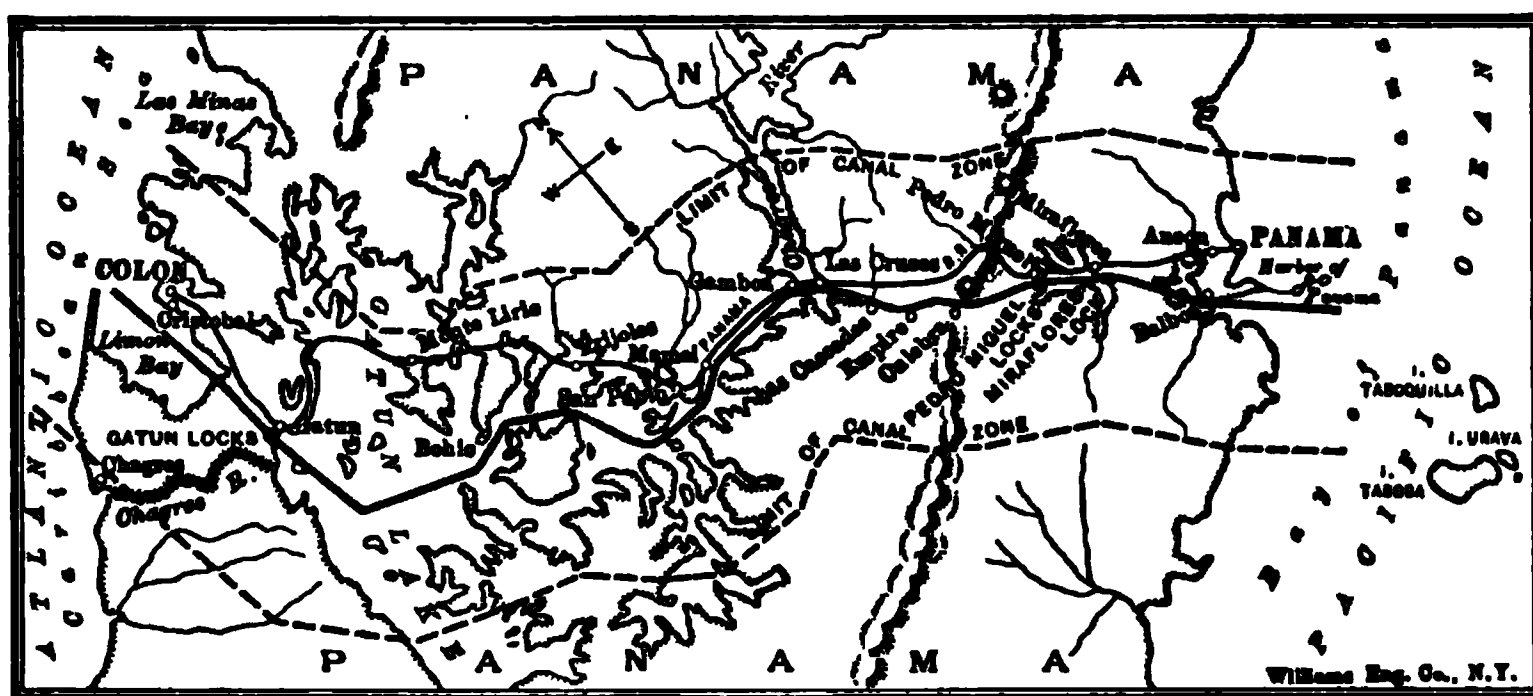
Fourth. That the United States might intervene to preserve independence, order, and republican government.

Complying with these requirements, the Cubans made and accepted a constitution, held a general election, and on May 20, 1902, took over their government from the Americans.

It was difficult, however, after years of war and lawlessness, for the Cubans to render obedience to the new government. There was considerable disorder, and in 1906 arms were taken up by a disappointed political faction. The United States promptly inter-

vened, displacing the Cuban president, and placing the island once more under military rule. In 1909 a Cuban president was again installed, and it is believed that Cubans are learning the difficult lesson of self-government.

The interest of Americans in Central America and the Isthmus of Panama has arisen from a far different source from that in Cuba. A canal across the isthmus has been the dream of navigators and merchantmen since the early days of Spain in America. The first act of the United States government looking to the possible realization of the dream came in 1846, when a treaty with New Granada (now the United States of Colombia) granted the United States a right of way across Panama. Later the United States obtained from Nicaragua concessions for a canal.



A Map of the Canal Zone

Interest in such a project was aroused in other countries. It was to the interest of European countries that any canal built should be open to the world, and that in time of war it should be a neutral waterway. Otherwise great advantage would result to the nation owning the canal. To this end, England entered into negotiations with the United States, and a treaty was signed in

1850 which not only guaranteed neutrality in case of war, but declared that neither nation would ever maintain exclusive control over any canal that might be built.

The Suez Canal, which saved navigators nearly fifteen thousand miles in the voyage from western Europe to the East, was begun in 1859, and ten years later was opened to traffic. The successful completion of this great work increased the desire to cut through the western continent. In 1878, a French company, headed by Ferdinand de Lesseps, the engineer who had built the Suez Canal, obtained a right of way from Colombia, and in 1883 began to dig a canal across Panama. Mismanagement and wastefulness, however, brought disaster to the company, and it was forced to give up work in 1889.

By this time public sentiment in America had changed somewhat. From desiring merely a canal, it had now come to demand a canal owned by the United States. The Nicaragua route was considered, but the old treaty with England, agreeing to joint ownership, was still in force. This difficulty, however, was disposed of by the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, ratified by England and the United States in 1901. The new treaty promised neutrality but did not agree to allow any nation other than the United States to share in the control of the canal.

After much controversy between the advocates of the Nicaragua and the Panama routes, the latter was decided upon, and Congress authorized the President to secure rights from Colombia, and to purchase the French plant in Panama. Colombia, however, rejected the proposals of the United States. The people of Panama, no longer in sympathy with the Colombian government, were dismayed by their failure to secure the long dreamed of waterway, and rose in revolt. They were successful, due largely to the help furnished by American men-of-war. The attitude of our government toward this revolution in Panama has been severely criticised by Colombia and other South American states. It is certain that no time was lost in coming to an agreement with the new republic

of Panama, by which she gave us full sovereignty over a canal zone ten miles wide, extending from sea to sea. The treaty was concluded only two weeks after the organization of the new government.

Work in the Canal Zone was begun May 4, 1904, and progressed steadily. The date set by the Isthmian Canal Commission, which is in charge of the work, for the official opening of the Canal is January 1, 1915.

Great engineering problems have had to be solved in the construction of the Canal. Much discussion preceded the decision to make a lock canal rather than the sea level type which was first planned. Vast masses of earth have been removed by excavation. An artificial lake, one hundred and sixty-four square miles in area, has been made by flooding the valley of the Chagres River by means of an immense dam. Not less wonderful things have been done to render the Canal Zone, formerly considered necessarily unhealthful because of its climate, as free from disease as most places in the United States. The accomplishments along all these lines make extremely interesting reading.

Length of canal	50 miles
Width of canal at narrowest place	300 feet
Depth of canal at shallowest place	45 feet
Number of locks	6 pairs
Time of transit	10 to 12 hours
Time of transit through locks	3 hours
Estimated cost	\$375,000,000

Distances saved by the Canal: —

New York to San Francisco	7873 nautical miles
to Callao	6250 nautical miles
to Valparaiso	3747 nautical miles
to Honolulu	6612 nautical miles
to Yokahama	3281 nautical miles

We now approach our own day so closely that the history we study becomes largely "history in the making." As such it is

difficult, if not impossible, for us to form the best of judgments in regard to it. There are, however, certain tendencies we must observe. The attitude of the United States in the affairs of Mexico, once more torn with internal dissensions, brings the Monroe Doctrine into prominence. There are many who deny the right by which the United States sets herself to be the arbiter of the fortunes of her less favored neighbors on the western continent. Others, however, believe that the position of adjuster is thrust upon the American nation, and must be maintained. It is too early to predict the outcome in Mexico, but the influence of the American government is being exerted in the interest of a government established by regular and free elections, in accordance with the constitution of the country.

In our own land, important things are happening. The struggle against corporations, or trusts; the decrease of the protectionary tariff; the close inspection of campaign contributions and expenditures; the direct election of senators, recently granted by constitutional amendment; conservation of national resources,—all these things point in one direction. The people are demanding a more immediate popular control of government and the country's resources for the benefit of the people. The people desire to rule. The conservatives have as little faith in popular control as they had in the days of Hamilton and the Federalists. The radicals, or "progressives," as they style themselves, take the opposite view. Old party lines have begun to break. In the election of 1912, the Republican party in convention renominated President Taft for a second term. He represented the conservative element in the party. The progressives, known during Taft's administration as "insurgents," who had grown actively hostile since the passage of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, bitterly opposed Taft's nomination. They finally withdrew from the convention, and formed the new Progressive party, nominating Theodore Roosevelt.

Important
questions
of our day

Formation of
the Progress-
ive Party,
1912

In the Democratic convention, the struggle between conservatives and progressives was less bitter, the factions finally uniting on Woodrow Wilson, governor of New Jersey, as their nominee. Wilson, as you know, was elected, and is now president. The most notable act of his administration, thus far, has been the passage of the Underwood Tariff Law.

It is believed by many that the new Progressive party will have a short life as an independent organization. Already there are signs that indicate a return to the Republican party, and an attempt to gain control of the party in the next presidential campaign.

The Democratic victory in 1912 seems to mark an advance toward popular government. Whether the gain will be permanent, only time will show us.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. The United States established the Philippines and Porto Rico as dependencies.
2. The protectorate over Cuba has been exercised to help the Cubans attain a safe, orderly, popular government.
3. The Panama Canal is being built by the American government. It is a magnificent undertaking, and promises to be of great benefit to the commerce of the world.
4. The political movements of the day seem to indicate a rising demand by the people for more direct control of the government and the resources of the country.

THINGS TO READ

1. "The Philippines," MacClintock.
2. "Panama and the Canal," Hall and Chester.
3. "A Short History of the United States," Bassett. Chapter XL, "The Administrations of Roosevelt and Taft."

THINGS TO DO

1. Discuss the Monroe Doctrine. Has it outlived its usefulness? Have South American states a right to object to the domination of the United States in continental affairs? Is the United States justified in

534 AMERICAN HISTORY FOR GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

holding to a policy outlined many years ago and under different conditions?

(There are excellent arguments on each side of these questions. They make a good subject for debate.)

2. Gather interesting facts about the Canal Zone and the Canal.
3. Inform yourself as to the general provisions of the Underwood Tariff Law.

FOR YOUR NOTEBOOK

1. The Panama Canal.

State important facts and figures about the Canal. Illustrate with maps if possible. Panama pictures will also be helpful.

XXXIII

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

It is important for us, as we enter upon the civic duties which await us as men and women, to consider what manner of people we are, in these early years of the twentieth century. After a century of national life, what are the characteristics of the American people?

First of all, we are an energetic people, ambitious to succeed in the world. Europeans deplore the money-getting spirit of Americans, but it is perhaps an inevitable result of a government of which equality is declared a fundamental principle. If each man believes himself equal to his neighbor, he naturally wishes to live as his neighbor lives.

Woodrow Wilson
Elected President in 1912.

In America there is no nobility, no aristocracy, as in European nations. There are no "classes," as in these lands, into which men are born and in which they must remain. There grow in various times and places aristocracies of the "well born," of the cultured, of moneyed men. But every man in America believes in the possibility of rising to any political or social plane.

A second striking characteristic of the American people is wastefulness. We are a race of spendthrifts. The reasons for this we may not find upon the surface, but the fact "he who runs may read." It is true of the individual, true of the community, true of the nation itself. Perhaps it is in part due to the new-

ness and the vast resources of the land. What need for the farmer to study rotation of crops? His farm land was "virgin soil," and repaid his sowing a thousand fold. So in the early days. But now we hear of exhausted lands, of abandoned farms, of a rush from rural life to the ranks of the employed in the towns.

What need to spare the forest? For thousands of miles it stretched out before the woodsman. As years passed, the forests dwindled, but the old habit of reckless cutting remained, until to-day the nation faces a lumber famine.

Of the millions of buffaloes which roamed on the Western prairies a century ago, only a few scattered specimens remain, — "an unexampled waste," says a recent writer, "an irretrievable national disgrace." The seal fisheries of Bering Sea have been nearly destroyed by improvident catching of the seals. The lobsters of the North Atlantic coast are at the point of extermination for lack of protection.

It is well that we are able to record an awakening to many of these dangers. Scientific farming is putting new life into worn-out farms. Practical forestry is seeking to restore our woodlands. Game and fish laws are being made more stringent. We are learning thrift, — though but slowly, and often paying a high price for our knowledge.

Americans occupy a unique position in the world in being citizens of the first successful and enduring republic. Government "by the people" serves to interest the people in political questions, and leads the majority of them to join more or less actively one or another political party. One curious and most unfortunate misuse of partisan politics has been its introduction into the management of city governments. National politics

has no bearing on city affairs. It is absurd for men to be elected to municipal office because they are Democrats or Republicans. The great parties, however, find it to their interest to control the cities, and many times they use the city offices to reward their followers for party service. Especially in cities where one party has held long-continued power, affairs have come to be managed by men who make politics their business, and whose corrupt

The White House

dealings cover all departments of city rule. The "Tweed Ring" in New York is merely one example of such corruption. Scarcely a city in the country but has a record of similar misrule. Reform movements have at various times exposed frauds and driven out of power the party responsible for them. But it has usually happened that the reformers have soon lost their enthusiasm, and the old state of affairs has gradually returned.

The chief hope for lasting purity in municipal rule seems to be

in breaking up the connection between national political parties and municipal affairs. Then men may be elected on their merits; then appointive offices may be filled by men specially fitted for their work; then city office will not be a reward for the politician, but a duty assumed by the citizen for the good of his neighbors and himself.

Another thing necessary to this result is increased interest in civil affairs on the part of many citizens. It has often happened that the men best fitted to vote intelligently on public matters have neglected to vote at all, leaving the control to the ignorant and self-seeking. An awakening civic pride gives hope that these things may be changed, and that our cities will yet be efficiently and honestly ruled.

The problem of self-government has still its unanswered questions. The problem of self-improvement is to-day occupying more thought in America than ever before. For the individual there are every day an increasing number of schools, colleges, libraries, and museums. For communities there are civic clubs and village improvement societies, which are striving to beautify our towns and cities, and to

"Liberty Enlightening the World"

A colossal statue on an island in New York Harbor. It was presented to America by the French people, being paid for by popular subscription.

interest the people in community ideals. There are "arts and crafts" movements to create appreciation for the simple but carefully designed and well made in furniture and household decoration. And as a result American homes are losing something of ostentatious display, and begin to show a finer taste.

The American is growing in many directions. And it may be, as we go forward into the future, that no quality will serve him and his country better than this — the capacity and the desire for growth.

APPENDIX I. CHRONOLOGICAL CHARTS

I. CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF DISCOVERIES AND EXPLORATIONS

APPENDIX

Time	Spain	Portugal	France	England	Holland	Sweden
Before 1500	1492. Columbus discovered the New World.	1497. Vesputius explored coast of South America.		1497. Cabot visited coast of North America.		
1500— 1600	1512. Ponce de Leon found Florida. 1513. Balboa discovered the Pacific. 1519-1522. Magellan's ship sailed around the world. 1541. De Soto found the Mississippi. 1565. St. Augustine founded.	Made no claim to North America.	1524. Verazano explored coast of N. A. 1534. Cartier took possession of the St. Lawrence.	1583. Sir Humphrey Gilbert tried to found a colony. 1585. Raleigh's "lost colony."		

I. CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF DISCOVERIES AND EXPLORATIONS — *Continuea*

11:

APPENDIX

Time	Spain	Portugal	France	England	Holland	Sweden
1600— 1700			<p>1605. Port Royal settled.</p> <p>1608. Quebec settled.</p> <p>1615—1669. Great Lakes found. Continued work of exploration.</p> <p>1678—1687. La Salle's explorations.</p>	<p>1607. Jamestown settled.</p> <p>1620. Plymouth settled.</p> <p>1623. New Hampshire settled.</p> <p>1628. Salem settled.</p> <p>1630. Boston settled.</p> <p>1633 to 1636. Connecticut settled.</p> <p>1634. Maryland settled.</p> <p>1636. Providence settled.</p> <p>1638. New Haven settled.</p> <p>1653 to 1663. North and South Carolina settled.</p> <p>1664. Seized New Amsterdam.</p> <p>1664. New Jersey begun.</p> <p>1681. Pennsylvania settled.</p> <p>1733. Georgia settled.</p>	<p>1609. Hudson found Hudson River.</p> <p>1623. New Amsterdam settled.</p> <p>1655. Seized New Sweden.</p> <p>1664. New Amsterdam seized by the English. Lost all claim on N. A.</p>	<p>1638. Settlement made on the Delaware.</p> <p>1655. Territory seized by the Dutch. Lost all claim on N. A.</p>

**II. CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN
ENGLAND AND FRANCE FOR AMERICA**

1689–1697. King William's War.

1690. Port Royal taken by the English.

1697. The treaty gave Port Royal back to France.

1701. The French began to occupy the Mississippi Valley.

1702–1713. Queen Anne's War.

1710. Port Royal again taken.

1713. The treaty gave Acadia to England, and acknowledged the English claim to Newfoundland and Hudson Bay.

1744–1748. King George's War.

1745. Louisburg taken by the English.

1748. The treaty gave Louisburg back to France.

1748. The Ohio Company formed.

1753. The French fortified the Allegheny Valley.

1754. The Albany Convention — Franklin's plan of union.

1754–1763. Last French War.

1754. Fort Duquesne built — Washington defeated.

1755. Braddock's defeat.

The removal of the Acadians.

1758. Louisburg taken by the English.

Fort Duquesne taken by the English.

1759. Forts Niagara and Ticonderoga taken by the English.

Quebec captured.

1760. Montreal captured.

1763. The treaty put an end to French rule in America.

III. CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

APPENDIX

ACTS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT	POLITICAL ACTS OF AMERICAN LEADERS	MILITARY EVENTS
<p>1645-1733. Navigation Acts</p> <p>1761. Writs of Assistance</p> <p>1765. Stamp Act passed</p> <p>1766. Stamp Act repealed</p> <p>1767. New taxation act</p> <p>1768. Troops sent to Boston</p> <p>1770. Troops removed from Boston after "Massacre"</p> <p>1773. Taxes removed except on tea</p> <p>1774. "Five Intolerable Acts"</p> <p>1775. Troops sent "to put down the rebellion in America"</p>	<p>1765. Stamp Act Congress</p> <p>1772-1773. Committees of Correspondence organized</p> <p>1773. Boston Tea Party</p> <p>1774. First Continental Congress</p> <p>1775. Second Continental Congress</p> <p>1775 (June). Continental army. Washington made commander</p>	<p>1775-1783. The American Revolution</p> <p>1775 (April 19). War begun at Lexington and Concord</p> <p>(May 10). Ticonderoga captured</p> <p>1775-1776. War around Boston</p> <p>1775 (June 17). Battle of Bunker Hill</p>

III. CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE—Continued

ACTS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT	POLITICAL ACTS OF AMERICAN LEADERS	MILITARY EVENTS
<p>1776. Hessian soldiers hired</p>	<p>1776 (June). Committee appointed to draw up Articles of Confederation</p> <p>1776 (July 4). Declaration of Independence</p> <p>1777 (June 14). "Stars and Stripes" adopted</p>	<p>1776 (March). British left Boston</p> <p>1776-1777. War in New York and New Jersey</p> <p>1776 (June). British arrived in New York</p> <p>(August 27). Battle of Long Island</p> <p>(September). Washington left New York City</p> <p>(October). Washington crossed the Hudson</p> <p>(December 26). Trenton captured</p> <p>1777 (January). Battle of Princeton</p> <p>1777. Second New York campaign.</p> <p>(July). Burgoyne took Ticonderoga</p>

APPENDIX

III. CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE — *Continued*

4.

<p>1778. Peace commissioners sent to America</p>	<p>(November). Congress proposed Articles of Confederation to the states for ratification</p>	<p>(August). Battle of Oriskany Fort Stanwix relieved, St. Leger's force scattered Battle of Bennington (October). Battle of Stillwater (October 17). Battle of Saratoga. Burgoyne's surrender 1777-1778. War around Philadelphia 1777 (August). Howe landed at head of Chesapeake Bay (September). Battle of the Brandywine. Howe entered Philadelphia (October). Battle of Germantown (December). Washington went into winter quarters at Valley Forge 1778 (June). British left Philadelphia. Battle of Monmouth</p>
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APPENDIX

III. CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF THE STRUGGLES FOR INDEPENDENCE — Continued

ACTS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT	POLITICAL ACTS OF AMERICAN LEADERS	MILITARY EVENTS
<p>1782. Peace negotiations begun</p> <p>1783. Treaty signed</p>	<p>1781. Articles of Confederation adopted by the states</p> <p>1783. Treaty with England signed</p>	<p>1778-1779. Conquest of the Northwest</p> <p>1778-1781. War in the South</p> <p>1778 (December). British took Savannah</p> <p>1780 (May). British took Charleston</p> <p>(August). Gates defeated at Camden</p> <p>(October). British defeated at King's Mt.</p> <p>1781 (January). Morgan victorious at the Cowpens</p> <p>(Jan. to March). Greene led Cornwallis into North Carolina</p> <p>(October). Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown</p> <p>1783. British left New York</p>

APPENDIX

IV. REVIEW OF NATIONAL PERIOD BY ADMINISTRATIONS

Washington's Administration, 1789-1797.

First Congress passed financial laws; trouble with Indians; Whisky Rebellion; "Citizen" Genet and the Proclamation of Neutrality; Treaty with England; invention of cotton gin; Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee admitted to the Union; census taken.

Adams's Administration, 1797-1801.

Threatened war with France; Alien and Sedition Acts; Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions; locomotive invented.

Jefferson's Administration, 1801-1809.

Reduction of government expenses; War with Tripoli; Ohio admitted; Louisiana purchased; Lewis and Clark expedition; slave trade abolished; the Embargo Act.

Madison's Administration, 1809-1817.

War of 1812; Hartford Convention; Indiana and Louisiana admitted.

Monroe's Administration, 1817-1825.

"Era of Good Feeling"; Florida purchased; the Missouri Compromise; Missouri, Illinois, Alabama, Maine, and Mississippi admitted to the Union; first steam voyage across the Atlantic; the Monroe Doctrine; visit of Lafayette to America.

John Quincy Adams's Administration, 1825-1829.

The first railroad in America; Georgia admitted; first threshing machine; the Erie Canal; Webster's Dictionary; "The Tariff of Abominations."

Jackson's Administration, 1828-1837.

The spoils system introduced; nullification in South Carolina; financial difficulties; Jackson's attack on the United States Bank; the Specie Circular; Michigan and Arkansas admitted to Union; anti-slavery movement in the North; rise of American literature; temperance movement; the McCormick reaper invented.

Van Buren's Administration, 1837-1841.

Panic of 1837; United States Treasury established; friction matches, vulcanizing rubber, daguerreotype and telegraph invented.

Harrison and Tyler's Administration, 1841-1845.

Texas annexed; growth of abolition movement; use of ether discovered; Texas and Florida admitted to Union.

Polk's Administration, 1845-1849.

Oregon boundary settled; Mexican War; Wilmot Proviso proposed but failed of passage; sewing machine and Hoe printing press invented; Iowa and Wisconsin admitted; gold discovered in California.

Taylor and Fillmore's Administration, 1849-1853.

Compromise of 1850 (Fugitive Slave Law, California admitted as a free state); "Uncle Tom's Cabin" published; the "Underground Railroad."

Pierce's Administration, 1853-1857.

Kansas-Nebraska Bill; the struggle in Kansas; Gadsden purchase from Mexico.

Buchanan's Administration, 1857-1861.

John Brown's raid; Dred Scott Decision; Minnesota, Kansas, and Oregon admitted; Lincoln-Douglas debates; secession of South Carolina followed by other states upon election of Lincoln; oil discovered in Pennsylvania.

Lincoln's Administration, 1861-1865.

Civil War; Emancipation Proclamation; first telegraphic message sent under the Atlantic; the Morrill tariff; West Virginia and Nevada admitted to the Union.

Johnson's Administration, 1865-1869.

Reconstruction; thirteenth and fourteenth amendments to the Constitution; Alaska purchased; French aggression in Mexico; Tenure of Office Act; impeachment of the President; Nebraska admitted.

Grant's Administration, 1869-1877.

Reconstruction concluded; fifteenth amendment; Ku Klux Klan; Pacific railroad; Chicago fire; financial panic of 1873; Colorado admitted; Centennial Exposition, 1876; Atlantic cable successful.

Hayes's Administration, 1877-1881.

Anti-Chinese legislation; new treaty with China; withdrawal of troops from the South; railroad strikes; electric light and telephone invented.

Garfield and Arthur's Administration, 1881-1885.

Assassination of Garfield; civil service reform; Brooklyn Bridge completed.

Cleveland's First Administration, 1885-1889.

Interstate Commerce Act; Chinese Exclusion Act; labor troubles; Chicago anarchists; Charleston earthquake.

Harrison's Administration, 1889-1893.

Reciprocity authorized; Johnstown flood; war with the Sioux; North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Washington, Idaho, Wyoming, admitted to the Union; Oklahoma opened for settlement.

Cleveland's Second Administration, 1893-1897.

The Sherman Silver Act; the Wilson tariff; the Venezuela dispute; income tax (declared unconstitutional); labor troubles; World's Fair at Chicago; Hawaiian Revolution; Utah admitted.

McKinley's Administration, 1897-1901.

Chinese Exclusion Act; War with Spain; War in the Philippines; Hawaii, Porto Rico, Philippine Islands, Guam, Samoan Islands acquired; arbitration treaty; Hay-Pauncefote treaty; Hague Peace Conference; Cuba under the protection of the United States; assassination of McKinley; Buffalo Exposition.

Roosevelt's Administration, 1901-1909.

Trust legislation; Pure Food Law; Meat Inspection Act; Oklahoma admitted; San Francisco earthquake; expositions at St. Louis, Seattle, and Jamestown; Panama Canal begun; aeroplane invented.

Taft's Administration, 1909-1913.

Payne Tariff Act; Canadian reciprocity agreement proposed; North Pole discovered; Postal Savings Banks established; Parcel post law; Canal administration act, remitting tolls for American vessels engaged in coast-wise trade.

Wilson's Administration, 1913-

Underwood Tariff Law; Constitutional amendment permitting an income tax; Constitutional amendment providing for popular election of senators.

V. THE SLAVERY QUESTION AND THE CIVIL WAR

- 1619. Slavery in America begun.
- 1787. Slavery prohibited in Northwest Territory.
- 1793. Invention of cotton gin.
- 1808. Slave trade prohibited.
- 1820. Missouri Compromise.
- 1845. Annexation of Texas.
- 1846-1848. Mexican War.
- 1850. Compromise of 1850.
- 1854. Kansas-Nebraska Bill.
- 1856. Republican party organized.
- 1857. Dred Scott decision.
- 1858. John Brown's raid.
- 1860. Election of Lincoln.
- Secession of South Carolina, followed by six other southern states.
- 1861. Organization of Southern Confederation.
- Seizure of forts and other U. S. property in the South.
- Firing on Fort Sumter.
- 1861-1865. Civil War.

WEST

EAST

1861

Fort Sumter (Confederate victory)
Bull Run (Conf.)

1862

Forts Henry and Donelson
(Union victory)
Island No. 10 (Union)
Shiloh (Union)
New Orleans (Union)
Corinth (Union)
Murfreesboro (Union)

Peninsula Campaign (Conf.)
Jackson in the Shenandoah
(Conf.)
Lee's first invasion and Antietam (Conf.)
Fredericksburg (Conf.)

Union army victorious
in the West

Confederates victorious
in the East

WEST

EAST

1863

Vicksburg (Union)
Port Hudson (Union)
Chickamauga (Conf.)
Chattanooga (Union)

Chancellorsville (Conf.)
Gettysburg (Union)

Union armies victorious
in both East and West

1864

Sherman's march from Atlanta to Savannah (Union)
Nashville (Union)

Grant's "Hammering Campaign"
against Lee (victories for both
sides)

Sheridan in the Shenandoah
(Union)

Union armies have the advantage

1865

Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and
Thomas all closing in upon
Lee

Surrender of Confederate armies

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1865-1878. Reconstruction.

APPENDIX II

GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES

I. TABLE OF THE THIRTEEN ORIGINAL STATES

COLONY	DATE	FIRST SETTLEMENT	MOTIVE	SETTLERS
Virginia	1607	Jamestown	Wealth	English adventurers
Massachusetts	1620	Plymouth	Religious freedom	English Separatists
New York	1623	Manhattan Island	Trade	Dutch
New Hampshire	1623	Portsmouth	Trade	Colonists from Mass.
Maryland	1634	St. Mary's	Religious freedom	English Roman Catholics
Connecticut	1633	Windsor	Make homes	Colonists from Mass.
Rhode Island	1636	Providence	Religious freedom	Religious refugees from Mass.
Delaware	1638	Wilmington	Wealth	Swedes
North Carolina	1640- 1663	Albemarle Sound	Home making and political strife	English refugees and Huguenots
South Carolina	1670	Charleston		
New Jersey	1664	Elizabethtown	Trade and re- lig. freedom	Dutch and Quakers
Pennsylvania	1682	Philadelphia	Religious freedom	Quakers
Georgia	1733	Savannah	Philanthropy	Scotch and English poor

II. TABLE OF STATES AND TERRITORIES

STATES	ORIGIN	DATE	DATE OF ADMIS- SION	ORIGIN OF NAME	AREA Sq. Mi.	POPULATION (1910)
1. Delaware	English Colony	1638	1787	In honor of Lord Delaware	2,050	202,322
2. Pennsylvania	English Colony	1681	1787	"Penn's Woodland"	45,215	7,665,111
3. New Jersey	English Colony	1664	1787	From the Island of Jersey	7,815	2,537,167
4. Georgia	English Colony	1733	1788	In honor of George II	59,475	2,609,121
5. Connecticut	English Colony	1633	1788	Indian — "Long River"	4,990	1,114,756
6. Massachusetts	English Colony	1620	1788	Indian —	8,315	3,366,416
7. Maryland	English Colony	1634	1788	In honor of Queen Henrietta Maria	12,210	1,295,346
8. South Carolina	English Colony	1670	1788	In honor of Charles II	30,570	1,515,400
9. New Hampshire	English Colony	1623	1788	From Hampshire, England	9,305	430,572
10. Virginia	English Colony	1607	1788	In honor of Queen Elizabeth, the "Virgin Queen"	42,450	2,061,612
11. New York	English Colony	1623	1788	In honor of the Duke of York	49,170	9,133,279
12. North Carolina	English Colony	1640	1789	In honor of Charles II	52,250	2,206,287
13. Rhode Island	English Colony	1636	1790	From the Isle of Rhodes	1,250	542,610
14. Vermont	From territory claimed by N. H. and N. Y.		1791	French — "Green Mountains"	9,565	355,956
15. Kentucky	Virginia		1792	Indian — "Hunting Land"	40,400	2,289,905
16. Tennessee	North Carolina		1796	Indian — "Crooked River"	42,050	2,184,789
17. Ohio	Northwest Territory		1803	Indian — "Beautiful River"	41,060	4,767,121

II. TABLE OF STATES AND TERRITORIES — Continued

States	Origin	DATE OF ADMIS- SION	ORIGIN OF NAME	AREA Sq. Mi.	POPULATION (1910)
18. Louisiana	Louisiana Purchase	1812	In honor of Louis XIV	48,720	1,656,388
19. Indiana	Northwest Territory	1816	From word "Indian"	36,350	2,700,876
20. Mississippi	Georgia and Florida	1817	Indian — "Great River"	46,810	1,797,114
21. Illinois	Northwest Territory	1818	Indian — name of tribe	56,650	5,638,591
22. Alabama	Georgia and Florida	1819	Indian — "Here we Rest"	52,250	2,138,093
23. Maine	Massachusetts	1820	The main land	33,040	742,371
24. Missouri	Louisiana Purchase	1821	Indian — "Muddy River"	69,415	3,293,835
25. Arkansas	Louisiana Purchase	1836	Indian — name of river	53,850	1,574,449
26. Michigan	Northwest Territory	1837	Indian — "Great Sea"	58,915	2,810,173
27. Florida	Purchased from Spain	1845	Spanish — "Flowery"	58,680	751,139
28. Texas	Republic of Texas	1845	Indian — name of a tribe	265,780	3,896,542
29. Iowa	Louisiana Purchase	1846	Indian — meaning doubtful	56,025	2,224,771
30. Wisconsin	Northwest Territory	1848	Indian — "Gathering Waters"	56,040	2,333,860
31. California	Mexican Cession	1850	Spanish — from an old story	158,360	2,377,549
32. Minnesota	Louisiana Purchase	1858	Indian — "Cloudy Water"	83,365	2,075,708
33. Oregon	Claimed from exploration and settlement	1859	Meaning doubtful	96,030	672,765
34. Kansas	Louisiana Purchase and Texan Cession	1861	Indian — meaning not known	82,080	1,690,949
35. West Virginia	Virginia	1863	From Virginia	24,780	1,221,119
36. Nevada	Mexican Cession	1864	Spanish — "Snowy Mts."	110,700	81,875
37. Nebraska	Louisiana Purchase	1867	Indian — "Shallow Water"	77,510	1,192,214

APPENDIX

38. Colorado	Louisiana Purchase and Mexican Cession	1876	Spanish — "Ruddy"	103,925	799,024
39. North Dakota	Louisiana Purchase	1889	Indian — "The Allies"	70,795	577,056
40. South Dakota	Louisiana Purchase	1889	Indian — "The Allies"	77,650	583,888
41. Montana	Louisiana Purchase	1889	Spanish — "A Mountain"	146,080	376,053
42. Washington	Oregon	1889	In honor of Washington	69,180	1,141,990
43. Idaho	Oregon	1890	Indian — "Gem of the Mts."	84,800	325,594
44. Wyoming	Louisiana Purchase and Mexican Cession	1890	Indian — "Broad Plains"	69,180	145,965
45. Utah	Mexican Cession	1896	Indian — "Mountain Home"	84,970	373,351
46. Oklahoma	Louisiana Purchase and Mexican Cession	1907	Indian — "Fine Country"	70,430	1,657,155
47. Arizona	Mexican Cession	1913		113,020	204,354
48. New Mexico	Mexican Cession	1913	From Mexico	122,580	327,301

Territories	Origin	Organ-ized	Origin of Name	Area Sq. Mi.	Population (1910)
Alaska	Purchased from Russia	1867	Indian —	590,884	64,356
District of Columbia	Maryland	1791	In honor of Columbus	64	831,069
Hawaii	Annexation	1900	Native name	6,449	191,909

III. POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT EACH CENSUS

YEAR	POPULATION	POPULATION IN CITIES	No. CITIES OF MORE THAN 8000	POPULATION OF FREE AND SLAVE STATES	
				Free	Slave
1790	3,929,214	131,472	6	1,968,455	1,961,372
1800	5,308,483	210,873	6	2,684,615	2,621,316
1810	7,239,881	356,920	11	3,758,910	3,480,902
1820	9,638,453	475,135	13	5,152,372	4,485,819
1830	12,866,020	864,509	26	7,006,399	5,848,312
1840	17,069,453	1,453,994	44	9,733,922	7,334,433
1850	23,191,876	2,897,586	85	13,599,488	9,663,997
1860	31,443,321	5,072,256	141	19,128,418	12,315,372
1870	38,558,371	8,071,875	226		
1880	50,155,783	11,318,547	286		
1890	62,622,250	18,272,503	447		
1900	75,477,467	24,992,199	545		
1910	93,402,151				

APPENDIX III

TABLE OF THE PRESIDENTS

NAME	STATE	COLLEGE	VOCATION	PARTY	TERM OF OFFICE	AGE AT ELECTION	AGE AT DEATH	VICE PRESIDENT
George Washington	Virginia	None	Soldier and Planter	Federalist	1789-1797	57	67	John Adams
John Adams	Massachusetts	Harvard	Lawyer	Federalist	1797-1801	61	90	Thomas Jefferson
Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	William and Mary	Lawyer	Dem.-Rep.	1801-1809	57	58	Aaron Burr
James Madison	Virginia	Princeton	Lawyer	Dem.-Rep.	1809-1817	57	85	George Clinton
James Monroe	Virginia	William and Mary	Lawyer	Dem.-Rep.	1817-1825	58	73	Elbridge Gerry
John Quincy Adams	Massachusetts	Harvard	Lawyer	Republican	1825-1829	67	90	Daniel Tompkins
Andrew Jackson	Tennessee	None	Soldier and Lawyer	Democrat	1829-1837	61	76	John Calhoun
Martin Van Buren	New York	None	Lawyer	Democrat	1837-1841	54	79	Martin Van Buren
William Henry Harrison	Ohio	Hampden-Sydney	Lawyer and Soldier	Whig	1841	68	68	Richard Johnson
John Tyler	Virginia	William and Mary	Lawyer	Whig	1841-1845	50	71	John Tyler
James Knox Polk	Tennessee	Univ. of N. C.	Lawyer	Democrat	1845-1849	49	53	George Dallas
Zachary Taylor	Louisiana	None	Soldier	Whig	1849-1850	64	65	Millard Fillmore
Millard Fillmore	New York	None	Lawyer	Whig	1850-1853	50	74	William King
Franklin Pierce	New Hampshire	Bowdoin	Lawyer	Democrat	1853-1857	48	64	J. C. Breckinridge
James Buchanan	Pennsylvania	Dickinson	Lawyer	Democrat	1857-1861	65	77	Hannibal Hamlin
Abraham Lincoln	Illinois	None	Lawyer	Republican	1861-1865	53	56	Andrew Johnson
Andrew Johnson	Tennessee	None	Tailor	Republican	1865-1869	56	66	Schuyler Colfax
Ulysses Simpson Grant	Illinois	West Point	Soldier	Republican	1869-1877	46	63	Henry Wilson
Grover Cleveland	Ohio	Kenyon	Lawyer	Republican	1877-1881	54	70	William Wheeler
Benjamin Harrison	Ohio	Williams	Teacher	Republican	1881	49	49	Chester A. Arthur
Grover Cleveland	New York	Union	Lawyer	Democrat	1881-1885	50	56	Thomas Hendricks
William McKinley	New York	None	Lawyer	Republican	1885-1897	47	71	
Theodore Roosevelt	Indiana	Miami University	Lawyer	Democrat	1897-1901	55	67	
William Taft	Ohio	None	Lawyer	Republican	1901-1909	56	71	
Woodrow Wilson	New York	Harvard	Author	Republican	1901-1909	56	66	
	Ohio	Yale	Lawyer	Republican	1909-1913	51		Charles Fairbanks
	Virginia	Princeton	Educator	Democrat	1913-1917	53		James Sherman
								Thomas Marshall

APPENDIX IV

SUGGESTED HEADINGS FOR REVIEW FORMS

LAND DISCOVERED	BY WHOM	WHEN	FOR WHOM

EXPLODER (Nationality)	DATE	REGIONS VISITED	SETTLEMENTS MADE

COLONY	FIRST SETTLEMENT	BY WHOM	WHEN	WHY

NAMES OF PLACES	COLONY OR STATE	EVENTS CONNECTED WITH

NAMES OF PEOPLE	BIRTHPLACE	TIME	EVENTS ASSOCIATED WITH

INVENTORS	TIME	INVENTIONS

APPENDIX

WARS	BETWEEN WHOM	WHEN BEGUN	WHEN ENDED

BATTLES	IN WHAT WAR	BETWEEN WHOM	VICTORY FOR	LEADERS

ADMINISTRATION	TIME	IMPORTANT EVENTS

PRES. ELECTIONS	TIME	PARTIES	CANDIDATES	SUCCESSFUL

**DATES WITH EACH OF WHICH EVERY CHILD SHOULD
CONNECT AN EVENT**

1. 1492	11. 1775	21. 1846
2. 1522	12. 1776	22. 1848
8. 1588	13. 1781	23. 1860
4. 1607	14. 1783	24. 1861
5. 1619	15. 1787	25. 1863
6. 1620	16. 1789	26. 1865
7. 1689	17. 1803	27. 1867
8. 1733	18. 1807	28. 1877
9. 1754	19. 1812	29. 1896
10. 1768	20. 1825	30. 1898

**PEOPLE WHOM EVERY CHILD SHOULD KNOW
SOMETHING ABOUT**

- | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Leif Ericsson | 21. Lord Baltimore | 41. Greene |
| 2. Marco Polo | 22. Penn | 42. Steuben |
| 3. Henry the Navigator | 23. Oglethorpe | 43. Hamilton |
| 4. Columbus | 24. Edmund Andros | 44. Eli Whitney |
| 5. Americus Vesputius | 25. Berkeley | 45. Robert Fulton |
| 6. Balboa | 26. Bacon | 46. Calhoun |
| 7. Magellan | 27. Leisler | 47. Clay |
| 8. De Soto | 28. Franklin | 48. Webster |
| 9. Cartier | 29. Braddock | 49. McCormick |
| 10. Champlain | 30. Montcalm | 50. Douglas |
| 11. Marquette | 31. Wolfe | 51. John Brown |
| 12. La Salle | 32. Samuel Adams | 52. S. F. B. Morse |
| 13. Drake | 33. Patrick Henry | 53. McClellan |
| 14. Raleigh | 34. Hancock | 54. Lee |
| 15. John Smith | 35. Jefferson | 55. Jefferson Davis |
| 16. Bradford | 36. Howe | 56. Sherman |
| 17. Winthrop | 37. Burgoyne | 57. Sheridan |
| 18. Roger Williams | 38. Cornwallis | 58. Blaine |
| 19. Hudson | 39. Clinton | 59. Bryan |
| 20. Stuyvesant | 40. Lafayette | 60. Edison |

The presidents are omitted from this list, it being understood that knowledge of them is necessary.

APPENDIX V

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Congress, July 4, 1776,

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes ; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislature, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by

Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire — JOSIAH BARTLETT, WM. WHIPPLE, MATTHEW THORNTON.

Massachusetts Bay — SAM'L. ADAMS, JOHN ADAMS, ROBT. TREAT PAINE, ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Rhode Island — STEP. HOPKINS, WILLIAM ELLERY.

Connecticut — ROGER SHERMAN, SAM'EL HUNTINGTON, WM. WILLIAMS, OLIVER WOLCOTT.

New York — WM. FLOYD, PHIL. LIVINGSTON, FRANS. LEWIS, LEWIS MORRIS.

New Jersey — RICH'D. STOCKTON, JNO. WITHERSPOON, FRAS. HOPKINSON, JOHN HART, ABRA. CLARK.

Pennsylvania — ROBT. MORRIS, BENJAMIN RUSH, BENJA. FRANKLIN, JOHN MORTON, GEO. CLYMER, JAS. SMITH, GEO. TAYLOR, JAMES WILSON, GEO. ROSS.

Delaware — CÆSAR RODNEY, GEO. READ, THO. M'KEAN.

Maryland — SAMUEL CHASE, WM. PACA, THOS. STONE, CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton.

Virginia — GEORGE WYTHE, RICHARD HENRY LEE, TH. JEFFERSON, BENJA. HARRISON, THOS. NELSON, jr., FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE, CARTER BRAXTON.

North Carolina — WM. HOOPER, JOSEPH HEWES, JOHN PENN.

South Carolina — EDWARD RUTLEDGE, THOS. HEYWARD, JUNR., THOMAS LYNCH, JUNR., ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

Georgia — BUTTON GWINNETT, LYMAN HALL, GEO. WALTON.¹

¹ This arrangement of the names is made for convenience. The states are not mentioned in the original.

APPENDIX VI

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA¹

WE THE PEOPLE of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE. I.

SECTION. 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty-five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and

¹ Reprinted from the text issued by the State Department.

within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

SECTION. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice

shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to law.

SECTION. 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

SECTION. 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, Punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION. 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

SECTION. 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

SECTION. 8. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes ;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States ;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures ;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current Coin of the United States ;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads ;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries ;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court ;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations ;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water ;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years ;

To provide and maintain a Navy ;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces ;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions ;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ;

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings ; — And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

SECTION. 9. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

No Capitation, or other direct, Tax, shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

SECTION. 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into

any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of Delay.

ARTICLE. II

SECTION. I. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty-five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services. a Compensation, which shall neither be Increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation: —

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

SECTION. 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers

and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

SECTION. 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

SECTION. 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE. III

SECTION. 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in Office.

SECTION. 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;—between Citizens of different States,—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different

States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens, or subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

SECTION. 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

ARTICLE. IV

SECTION. 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION. 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall

be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

SECTION. 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

ARTICLE. V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE. VI

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme

Law of the land ; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution ; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

ARTICLE. VII

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

THE AMENDMENTS

I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof ; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press ; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

II

A well-regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

III

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any Criminal Case to be witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining Witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law

VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

IX

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

XI

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

XII

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; — The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; — The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a

majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

XIII

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

XIV

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States: nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or

rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

XV

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

XVI

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

XVII

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of each State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: PROVIDED that the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

APPENDIX VII

PRONOUNCING LIST OF PROPER NAMES

Acadia (a kă'dī a)	Guerrière (gâr ryâr')
Americus Vespucius (ă mēr'ī cūs vēs pū'shūs)	Hawaii (hă wī'ē)
Amerigo Vespucci (ă mă ree'go ves poot'che)	Joliet (zhō lyā')
André (ăn'dră or ăn'drī)	Lafayette (lă fā yēt')
Andros (ăn'dros)	La Salle (lă sāl')
Antietam (ăn tē'tam)	Leisler (lis'ler)
Balboa (băl bō'a)	Marquette (măr kēt')
Barre (băr'rē)	Menendez (mēn ẽn'deth)
Bonhomme Richard (bō nôm' rē shăr')	Oklahoma (ōk lă hō'ma)
Buena Vista (bwă'nă vēs'ta)	Oriskany (ō rīs'kă ny)
Cartier (căr tyā')	Pizarro (pē zăr'ro)
Cerro Gordo (sēr'rō gôr'dō)	Resaca de la Palma (ră să'ka dă lă pāl'ma)
Cervera (thăr vā'ra)	San Juan (săn hō ăn')
Chapultepec (chă pōl'tă pěk')	Santiago de Cuba (săn tē ä'gō dă cōō'ba)
Chickamauga (chick a mäu'ga)	Schley (shlī)
Clermont (clēr'mont)	Serapis (se rā'pīs)
Coronado (cō rō nă'dō)	Sioux (sōō)
Duquesne (dū kăn')	Steuben (stū'ben)
Faneuil (fan'el)	Stuyvesant (stī've sant)
Genet (zhe nă')	Toscanelli (tōs că něl'lē)

Key to pronunciation : **ā, ē, ī, ō, ū**, long ; **ă, ě, ĩ, ǝ, ȳ**, short ; **senāte, évent, idea, ōbey, ūnite, cāre, ärm, äsk, ăll, final, fĕrn, recent, ōrb, rȳde, full, ūrn, fōōd, fōōt.**

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